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ART. I.—CHRISTIAN SUPERNATURALISM.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852.

The Restoration of Belief. No. 1. *Christianity in Relation to Ancient and Modern Antagonists.* 12mo. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 1853.

Philosophical Essays. By DAVID HUME. 6 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1826.

Cours de Philosophie Positive. Par AUGUSTE COMTE. (Particularly Tome 1, Sec. 2, *Sur La Hierarchie Des Sciences Positives.*) 6 Tomes, 12mo. Paris. 1842.

Opera Benedicti Spinoza. Ed. Bruder. (Especially the 6th Chap. of the *Tractatus Theologico Politicus.*) 3 vols. 12mo. Lipsiae. 1843.

Nature; Addresses and Lectures. By R. W. EMERSON. 2 vols. 12 mo. Boston. 1849.

Lectures and Miscellanies. By HENRY JAMES. 12mo. New York. 1852.

A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion. By THEODORE PARKER. 12mo. Boston. 1847.

Two Sermons Preached before the 28th Congregational Society in Boston on the 14th and 21st of November, 1852. By THEODORE PARKER. Boston. 1853.

WITH all their evils, the speculations of skeptical writers have secured at least one great good. They have given rise to a profounder and more thorough discussion of religious

and philosophical questions. The real import and force of such speculations may not at first be appreciated, and some of the replies made to them, may sometimes be superficial and unsatisfactory; but they are sure to find their antidote at last. They awaken thought and investigation, and react powerfully in favor of the truth. Thus the acute empiricism of David Hume, and the profounder philosophy of Benedict Spinoza, applied by the latter to religion and miracles, in the *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*, were never satisfactorily refuted till the days of Reid, Kant and Coleridge. The beautiful distinction between nature, as necessary and continuous, and spirit, as free and productive, so finely developed in the "*Aids to Reflection*," supplies an antidote to the "*Essay on Human Nature*," and lays the foundation for a complete refutation of Spinozism. It may be questioned, however, whether the formal replies to Hume's argument against miracles have been quite satisfactory even to the present day. His antagonists and critics, Campbell, Beattie, Oswald, Paley, and others, have placed themselves too much on his own level of philosophical empiricism, in which spirit is lost in the idea of nature, and experience supplies the place not only of intuition, but of revelation. The tables, however, are beginning to be turned. Hume and Spinoza are left behind even by the philosophers of France and Germany. We are gratified also to perceive the deeper and more philosophical spirit of such writers as Trench, Maurice, Rogers, (in the *Eclipse of Faith*,) and the author, whoever he may be, of the very interesting and original production entitled, "*The Restoration of Faith*," which, though occupied mainly with certain historical aspects of the question touching the divine mission of Christ, yet discusses it in a truly practical, yet profound and philosophical spirit. Trench, in the able introduction to his "*Notes*," has placed himself in the true attitude with reference to the whole question of miracles. His views, indeed, are essentially those of Coleridge, and require a more precise statement, as well as a fuller development. His object, however, was not so much to write a dissertation as a commentary on the miracles of Christ. His work deserves a conspicuous place in every theological library.

The whole question of the Supernatural, in its relations to the Christian miracles, requires to be rediscussed, and we trust some one competent to the task, will take it in hand with a thoroughness and vigor commensurate to its vast importance. It may prove a life-work, but the result will amply repay the greatest expenditure of time and labor.

We have not the presumption to suppose that we can throw much light upon the subject, especially in the compass of a single article. We may be permitted, however, to suggest some thoughts upon miracles, as a part of a great supernatural system for the restoration of man to the lost image of God. In our humble judgment, a serious error has been committed in the discussion of this subject, by isolating the question of miracles from the essence of Christianity as itself supernatural, just as if miracles did not form an integral part of the gospel dispensation, whose fair and massive proportions can be estimated only when contemplated as a divine whole. The majority who have written upon miracles, have vindicated their title to our respect, as the external defense of Christianity, treating them simply as redoubts and outposts of the sacred citadel. On which account they have seemed to reason in a circle; proving Christianity by the miracles, and the miracles by Christianity. They have all admitted, on Hume's own ground, that no amount of testimony will establish a lying wonder, or what may be termed an immoral miracle, that is, a miracle, wrought in defense of error and imposture, all of them taking it for granted that such miracles may be performed through Satanic or other equivalent agency.

Hence they have been compelled to defend Christianity by that which Christianity alone can authenticate as divine. Having courageously fought the battle of miracles, and as they supposed gained the victory, they have found themselves obliged to fight it all over again in defending Christianity itself. Thus it has come to pass, in the estimation of some of the ablest speculative thinkers, that instead of being a defense to Christianity, miracles have proved its greatest hindrance. For, without the essence of Christianity as a religion of purity and power, miracles, as supernatural manifestations, would be utterly indefensible. Some devout men have been able to retain the miracles only by means of the perfect and supernatural religion with which they are associated; a striking instance of which may be found in the case of the eloquent Schleiermacher.

For the same reason, skeptical writers like Hume, Spinoza, Comte, Emerson, Parker and others, have readily disposed of technical and isolated miracles as simple prodigies, or as they choose to call them, "violations of the laws of nature." Standing alone, outside of Christianity, they have easily swept them aside by the philosophy of "nature," or of immutable law, whether material or ideal. Even those of them who believe in a personal God, as Parker professes to do,

have no hesitation in denying miracles, in themselves considered; for God in their view can not be supposed to violate or even suspend the law of his own universe, that is, the common course and constitution of things. Miracles, even if admitted as possible, on the theory of these men, stand alone, and require for their establishment a peculiar kind and amount of proof. Hence they set themselves to weaken the force of that proof, often with apparent success, long before the gospel as a system is touched at all. Their assumption too, about "the violation of nature," which in some sense may be considered impossible, is made plausible on the same ground; so that the Christian faith seems demolished, before a single blow has fallen upon its proper fabric.

Let us pass, however, into the heart of the magnificent structure of our common Christianity, founded upon the Rock of Ages, and towering high toward the illuminated heavens; and even if we admit that the miracles as such, are its outer buttresses, we shall see, at a glance, that they are a part of the whole, and only add to its symmetry and strength. The materials, too, are precisely the same, though the interior portions may present a more delicate architectural finish; for they are all the product of a celestial hand. The whole, as supernatural and divine, must stand or fall together.

Is there a personal God;—has he a distinct, productive, all-controlling will? In other words is He, the all-creative One, a Spirit, immanent, it may be, in nature, and yet superior to nature? Is man too, though finite, a distinct, productive will, a rational and responsible agent, formed in the image of God? Is the outer universe then, or what we call nature, with all its forces, dynamic or mechanical, under God, a mere agent or instrument; and can God control it with the sovereignty of a master? If so, then creations and re-creations, vital changes and transformations, new species and new eras, renovations, redemptions, miracles, as supernatural divine manifestations, are possible, are probable. The spiritual, the supernatural, the religious, are all possible and real.

Here we have a foundation on which to base our reasonings in reference to Christianity, which we claim to be, under God, a supernatural system, a new beginning or spiritual creation, through the medium of the Divine Logos, or incarnate Word, in which miracles play a most important part, not in violation of nature, but as above and beyond nature, being the more direct and tangible demonstrations of the life-giving or creative Power.

But to the law and the testimony; for in this matter we

must correct and control all speculative reasonings by a reference to the facts in the case. How stands the matter in the Christian Records? This is our first inquiry. It is proper, however, to remark that our word miracles (which simply signifies wonders, though in the use we now make of it, involving the idea of the supernatural or divine) is somewhat indefinite, and scarcely covers the whole series of supernatural acts or works by which our Lord not only attested but accomplished his mission. In the New Testament quite a variety of terms are used to designate them, not simply as wonders, but as special divine acts, such as might naturally constitute or accompany a divine mission. They are called "signs," as it were, divine signatures or seals, "gifts," "gifts of the Holy Ghost," "powers," "works," "mighty works," that is, special divine operations, indicating the presence and sanction of the Deity. In brief, they are such "wonders" as might be expected from the "Wonderful."

Though these may be represented as the signs or attestations of a divine mission, they are not exclusively such; and hence, in the department of Christian evidences, too much stress has been laid upon their merely physical or external aspects. They have been used as the main, and sometimes as the exclusive proof of divine revelation. Whereas the character of Christ, who in reference to the miracles is the sun amid the stars, is the principal evidence. His very presence among men, like a new sun in the heavens, is sufficient proof of his divinity. The miracles can only be a collateral evidence, and in many cases, perhaps, chiefly useful to those who beheld them. They are parts of a great system, whose divine grandeur and perfection must be obvious to every well constituted mind.

At any rate, they ought never to be regarded as insulated facts; but rather as the natural expression and accompaniment of a divine mission. That admitted as a possibility, the miracles follow as a matter of course.

For what is it we naturally expect in such a manifestation of God? The godlike of course, and if the godlike, the wonderful; nay far more than the wonderful, the omnipotent, the all-beautiful and good.

Such miracles, though transcending nature, would not be contrary to nature, for nature, as we use the term, is only God's method of acting in the sphere and time with which we happen to be familiar. In its philosophical sense it is but the aggregate of those natural forces or laws, by which the infinite Spirit acts in the visible universe. Nature then is only a part. God is the whole. While "in all," he is yet "above

all." Certainly his powers are not exhausted in nature; over and above all its methods and all its forces, he may possess infinite methods, boundless resources.

Some inconsiderate theologians, and almost all skeptics, as we have intimated, have represented the Christian miracles as "a violation of the laws of nature;" whereas they are only "over and above nature." It is only in the sense of being divine, that we deem them transcendent and wonderful.

If any thing is contrary to nature, it is sin. That violates the divine law, that opposes the course and constitution of nature, introducing among men disorder and death. So terrible is its influence that it has become a power in the world, having the force of a law, to which we sometimes give the name of nature, because from the force of habit, it has become a "second nature;" after all, it is most unnatural and accursed. It opposes God and goodness, darkens and desolates the soul of man.

Sin, then, is disturbance, or anarchy, and in this sense a violation of all laws, natural and divine. For its removal, a counteracting force is needed, a force above nature, and yet in accordance with nature, a force of renewal and regeneration. It is a great and fatal mistake, however, to confine the miraculous or divine to mere physical or external manifestations. Its highest sphere is the spiritual. Here its life-giving and transforming energies are chiefly seen. Christ himself, the truly divine, is the great miracle; all other miracles are streams from this fountain, rays from this sun.

The whole subject generalized, presents itself to us in the light of the following question. What may be reasonably expected in an incarnation of the Deity, such as Christ claims to be? All, doubtless, which is peculiar to God, and the great object to be served by his advent among men.

God is the omnipotent Creator, hence works or manifestations of creative power.

God is the all-good, hence manifestations of boundless love and pity.

God is the life-giver, hence miracles of healing, of revival and resurrection.

In a word, the whole mission of such a being would be a new moral or divine creation, and thence a life-giving or transforming power. Negatively he would cast out the demon, the incarnated, indwelling spirit of evil; positively he would bring all heaven, with its love and peace, into the soul.

In which case the inward and spiritual would be symbolized and expressed by the outward and physical. All nature would wait upon its God. So that works of atonement, rec-

conciliation and regeneration would naturally be associated with works of physical control, of healing and resurrection in the outer or material sphere.

Thus, any kind of wonderful or supernatural works would not be a proof of a divine mission; and many signs of a striking but mechanical character, would not be found in it. Such works the Messiah might decline, even as proofs of his divinity.* Besides, he would attach, as we ought, more importance to his higher spiritual works, which link themselves immediately to the great end of his mission, than to any thing external, however striking. He might even refuse to work appropriate external miracles, when he perceived that they would not subserve his great spiritual design, or only minister to selfish appetites and carnal views.†

The main thing, then, in such a mission, would be the new spiritual force or life, embodied in the person of the Redeemer, and imparted to the race—the holy love, the eternal purity and joy given, by his incarnation and atonement, to mankind.

In fine, the mission of Christ, if divine, would be a new spiritual beginning, of which the first beginning, in the physical creation, supplies a beautiful type or symbol. The miracles clustering around it, illustrating or enforcing it, would be only its outer garniture, or rather its natural and graceful accompaniment, like the song of the Morning Stars, which hailed the new-made world.

An inquiry here suggests itself; might false or imaginary miracles mingle themselves in the mere histories of such a life? The thing is not impossible, but the proof of the fact must be given. It is, indeed, quite conceivable how that, in subsequent time, and as the mere human result of such a mission, imaginary miracles might be supposed, and some natural events mistaken for miracles. We do not here say that such is the case; we only say that such is not impossible, perhaps not improbable. But this would not affect the argument in favor of the great life-giving powers, the miracles of renovation and resurrection, which form the substratum of Christianity.

It is important here to remark, that all miracles, or all events claimed to be supernatural, are not credible. In ordinary circumstances, they might be regarded as positively

* "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, (such a sign as that referred to,) but there shall no (such) sign be given it."

† Hence our Saviour refused to gratify Herod in this respect. On one occasion it is said, "He did no mighty works there because of their unbelief." It would have been "casting pearls before swine."

incredible. For then they are effects without an adequate cause. On the other hand it does not follow that all miracles are incredible. Indeed, some events of this sort, in themselves, may be highly credible; for they may bear the stamp of divinity on their very front. So far from being effects without a cause, they may be presumed to have the highest cause in the universe, that is, God. The spurious article, however abundant, by no means proves that the genuine is not to be found somewhere. Were all other religions mythical, and all other miracles false, the religion of Christ, and the miracles of Christ, might be real and divine. That they are real and divine, is proved by the facts in the case. They are altogether peculiar; they are such as might naturally be expected; they are worthy of their divine origin; they are such as must ever be found in connection with a divine mission, nay, such as must ever constitute a divine mission. For we return here to our fundamental position, namely, that Christ is "God manifest in the flesh," and his whole life, from beginning to end, supernatural and divine. It can be regarded as consisting of different parts, and some of its elements, taken alone, may be called natural and human; after all, it is one in its more interior characteristics, in which view it far transcends any thing among men. As a whole, it is supernatural and divine, and thence the means of a new spiritual life in the world.

The whole question of miracles, in its fundamental relations, thus turns on the possibility of the supernatural. Such possibility, the opponents of Christianity generally deny, those of them at least who make the slightest pretensions to philosophical thought.

But the supernatural, as connected with Christianity, is equivalent to a new creation, or the exertion of a divine creative power. For example, the birth of Christ is a new beginning or creation. He comes into the world as a divine or supernatural agent. So also the changing of water into wine, the restoration of sight to the blind and of life to the dead, the feeding of five thousand persons with a few loaves and fishes, and the resurrection of Christ himself, are all creative acts, or acts equivalent to creative.

Now the possibility of the supernatural, in this view, can be denied consistently only by those who deny the possibility of all divine creations. If, for example, they deny the existence of God, or a supreme creative Intelligence; or if they maintain the existence of such a God as can not freely and intelligently create, they can deny the possibility of miracles. This, in fact, is the position assumed by all the abler oppo-

nents of Christianity as a supernatural scheme, Spinoza, Hume, Hegel and Strauss.

Hence miracles have been rejected, first of all on the ground of atheism. Of course with the class of theorists who take this monstrous position we can have no discussion here, except to remind them that modern science has actually proved the fact of successive creations. Geology has set this matter forever at rest.* We might also remind them that man, in some sense a productive Will, and so far capable of acting above what we call nature, or the outward creation, is capable of certain acts, at least analogous to the supernatural. And if a finite intelligence can act thus, can interfere at certain points, in the movement of nature, by means of new combinations of power, and thus perform wonders, which appear to his fellows, as in the case of the steam engine and the electric telegraph, all but supernatural, why may not an infinite Intelligence interfere, by miracles so stupendous and thrilling, as to be equivalent to the creation of worlds? But atheists usually deny the freedom and spirituality of man, as well as the existence of a supreme creative Power, making man the mere machine of the universal machine which they call nature.

2. For the same reason, miracles have been denied on the ground of materialism. Rejecting the existence of spirit and even of thought and volition, except as the production of matter, such theorists maintain the absolute material identity of all things. If there be a God, matter is that God, universal matter, or aught else they may choose to call it, governed by necessary and eternal laws, consequently revolving in an endless cycle, without the possibility of new beginnings, supernatural changes or creations. Perhaps such men do not positively say what matter is; they speak only of its laws, and thence as in the case of Auguste Comte, refer all things to the uniform and eternal action of necessary forces, in which religion is a necessary, though temporary development, in the "*Hierarchie des Sciences Positives*." Of course, in such a system, there can be no place for miracles. Both God and Christ, and even man, as responsible spiritual agents, are denied. Man is but a link in the eternal chain, a bubble on the surface of the ever-flowing stream.

Is it not clear, however, that such persons deceive themselves by words? Matter, they say, is the whole. Then the question arises, What is this matter of which they predicate

* All the great geological writers maintain this—Lyell, Agassiz, Brogniart, Buckland, Murchison, Mantell, Miller, Hitchcock and Silliman.

so much? The question is not answered by calling it, as most persons do, a substance, formal, limited, tangible, divisible, and so forth; for these philosophers say it is absolute and eternal, nay that it is *all and in all*. It is not an effect, but a cause, or it is both. On this theory it is a power, an omnipotent power, for it produces all things, does all things. Is it not then intelligent, adapting means to ends, working according to method and law? Is it not, in fact, a conscious, self-controlling agent, and may it not be holy, just and good? Substitute, then, the term God for Matter, and what have we, but the old, eternal doctrine of the Creator, supreme over all, as well as in all—whence the possibility of creations, revelations and miracles.

But Comte and his followers would say, We do not refer the universe to matter, or call it matter; we simply affirm that the Whole consists of necessary and eternal laws, from which come all the changes or phenomena of the universe. Laws! what are they? They must be either methods or forces. If methods or rules, they are the methods or rules of some subject or cause, that is of God; for they display infinite power and intelligence. If forces, we ask again, forces of what? for forces are attributes of a subject, qualities of a Being.

The fact is, we are so constituted as to be under a necessity of referring all qualities and changes to some Essence or Being in whom they inhere, or from whom they proceed. Evidently the universe, as we know it, is a production, an organization, or congeries of organizations, which must have a beginning or cause. And as we know of no new changes or products among men, which have not, back of them, an intelligent agent, which we call mind, we are compelled to conclude, that the universe, as an organism, the most complicated and beautiful, has, back of it, an all-creative Mind. And if so, all sorts of creations, and miracles among the rest, are possible.

3. But thirdly, miracles are denied on the ground of pantheism.

There are various forms of pantheism, but in its proper, absolute character, it denies the personality of God, as well as the personality of man, and thus represents the universe as God, and God as the universe, without consciousness, freedom or intelligence.* Hence it views all things, and all

* As involving limitation and succession, personality can not be ascribed to God. But as involving freedom, consciousness and reason, in its absolute perfection, it undoubtedly can.

beings, man among the rest, as only parts of a whole, or rather as only limited manifestations of a whole, which it calls Nature, God, or Spirit, as it pleases. Thus Spinoza made the universe to consist of *Natura Naturans* and *Natura Naturata*. The *Natura Naturata* or the outward universe, according to him, is the necessary and eternal manifestation of the *Natura Naturans*, or the absolute Substance, which has two attributes, Thought and Extension. The laws of such a Nature, of course are absolute, necessary and eternal. There can be no freedom or choice, no new laws, or new applications of old laws, no reserved forces, no new creations, and no miracles.*

Pantheism, however, may be divided into physical and spiritual. The physical or grosser form of pantheism, as in the Brahminism of India, deifies and worships the visible universe, sun and stars, earth and man, rivers and fountains, beasts and insects. In such a system, there can be no positive sin. Man is God, as an insect is God. He proceeds from, and will finally fall back into the abyss. This kind of pantheism, among the western nations, takes the form of materialism, already noticed. It recognizes only the outward and material, and in our mechanical age, refuses to worship.

The spiritual pantheism is that adopted by some of the idealists in Germany and elsewhere. It regards the outward universe, or the universe of material forms, as simply phenomenal or apparent. God, or the interior, absolute cause of the universe, is spiritual, consisting simply of Being and Thought, or of Being and Thought together, without conscious personality. According to Hegel, all we can know is the relations of things. God, as absolute, is an infinite Abstraction, that is, the absolute and inconceivable Essence, which he has called *Das Nichts*, (or *Nothing*,) meaning by that not an absolute Nothing, such as ordinary mortals would conceive the word to mean, but an absolute Abstraction, (in other words, Being or Thought,) from which all conceivable relations and conditions are abstracted. But in the process of thought, according to Hegel, this Absolute passes into reality, which is the universe. Both indeed, are eternal, for the *All* is only an everlasting oscillation between the negative and the positive, the absolute and the relative, the spiritual and the concrete. God, as the eternal Thought, which lies back of all change, comes to consciousness only in man;

* Opera, vol. 1, p. 208, *et seq.* Spinoza's views of miracles are developed in the 6th chapter of the *Tractatus Theo.*, Opera, vol. 3, p. 86, *et seq.*

on which ground man is divine. His development is the necessary progress of all history, of all religion and all morals. On this basis, Hegel builds the vast superstructure of his logical and philosophical system.

The apparent pantheism of Schelling, much modified of late years, differs from this, in many particulars, and admits, whether logically or not, we do not now say, of a divine incarnation and atonement, and so far does homage to Christianity, as a supernatural system.

It is clear, however, that the theory of Hegel, adopted in its fundamental principles, by Strauss, author of the *Leben Jesu*, by R. W. Emerson, and his willing pupil, Mr. Henry James, strikes at the very possibility of a supernatural religion, and especially of miracles. It might admit, and indeed does admit of Jesus Christ, as a necessary development of the divine, in the sense understood by the Hegelians, but not more so than any other good man. Hence Strauss does not deny the reality of Christ, as a remarkable character, and author of a beautiful system of religion and morals. He only denies him as a supernatural being, or as God incarnate.*

It would be out of place here to attempt a formal refutation of Hegelianism. Indeed to most sane persons, it refutes itself. Its grounds and conclusions are equally absurd, though as a system, distinguished by vast logical power, and occasionally suggesting grand and comprehensive views.†

If we ourselves are free agents, and not mere machines, spiritual or animal, (and who at bottom can doubt this, that knows himself?) we are compelled by the constitution of our nature to regard God as a free agent, self-conscious and self-controlled; and if thus free, then creative, freely creative; and if freely creative, then capable of intervention and miracle. It is not, indeed, for us to say, what he may or may not do, in the way of supernatural manifestation; but assuredly, the idea of creation, of incarnation and miracle, ascribed to him, is neither impossible nor improbable. Indeed, nothing would seem to be more probable; a consideration which accounts for the universal expectation and impression on the

* The same thing may be said of Emerson and James, who have interwoven the Hegelian pantheism in their somewhat elegant but superficial lucubrations.

† Hegel professed to construct his system without assuming any thing, whether matter or mind, thought or volition. But this was impossible. Unconsciously to himself, he assumed his own powers of thought. His "Das Nichts," though negative, involved the positive, as a necessary idea. His abstractions, then, must involve realities, that is, man as an intelligent, voluntary thinker and actor; and if man, then God, as the free and intelligent Creator of the universe. In this way his system refutes itself.

subject. Admit the idea of a personal God, interested in man, and you can admit easily all the miracles of the New Testament.

In its more naked character, pantheism is a monstrous and fatal error, and yet it is only the exaggeration of a great truth, namely, that God, while superior to his works, is not to be considered as separate from them. While over all, he is yet "in all," by a universal presence. Here we behold him as the all-comprehending Power, the all-pervading Wisdom and Beauty, a thought which brings him close to the heart. But the God of Hegel and Strauss, who comes to consciousness only in man, is a monstrosity, rejected alike by reason and revelation.

But while we admit God as "in all," we instinctively feel, all instinctively feel, that we ourselves are distinct personalities, and though derived from God and even dependent upon him, that we have a will and a purpose, a character and a career of our own. So, also, we feel that the external world is not only distinct from us, but distinct from God, and consequently that God, being himself a free and omnipotent agent, can do as he pleases, in the matter of incarnation and miracle.

Yet as nature is from God and under God, all his actings, however strange and stupendous, will be in harmony with those great laws through which he is wont to act. These, however, have already admitted of creations, of new and wondrous beginnings, changes and developments, in organic forms and animals, as Hugh Miller and others have shown; so that no new creations or beginnings, whether in the sphere of matter or of mind, need occasion us any surprise. All we want is proof of the fact.

We apprehend, however, that the philosophical objection to miracles, as new creations, lies in the attempt to conceive how something can come from nothing. Those who believe this, as a simple fact, of course will not feel the force of the objection; for however mysterious the thing may be, they are compelled to suppose that all created things are made from nothing. But this can not be strictly or absolutely true, God himself being supposed as ultimate cause or ultimate something; for of course there can be no effect without a cause, in which sense the maxim is true *ex nihilo nihil fit*. God creates all things, say theologians, from "the word of his power;" he "speaketh and it is done, he commandeth and it standeth fast;" on which ground miracles are possible. The philosopher might prefer to say that God creates all things from or out of himself; but in saying this he throws no new light upon the matter. It is simply admitting the great principle of adequate cause. The mystery or the rationale of the fact remains concealed.

Now, it is on this ground, we urge not only the moral but the philosophical possibility of the Christian miracles, including the birth and the resurrection of Christ. It can never be shown that they must necessarily be the product of nothing, even on the lower ground of appearances. While supernatural power came in at particular points, natural causes, and sometimes pre-existent materials and forces, were used. The miraculous wine, for example, was a product from water, just as the wine of the grape is a product from natural elements.

Christ, as a new creation, had two terms, the human and the divine; he was both natural and supernatural, but not an effect without a cause. So also the healing and restoring power which gave health to the diseased, and life to the dead, was in Christ as a cause. "Virtue went out of him." His own resurrection was the effect of his eternal divinity, or eternally divine and indestructible life. Thence, while he died as to his manhood, by the separation of the soul from the body, or the human from the divine, he did not die as to his spiritual and immortal nature. The union only was suspended. When restored on the third day, of course he rose again. So that the maxim that "from nothing, nothing comes," will not apply here.

4. We add fourthly, that the miracles have been rejected on the *mythic theory*.

Not content with metaphysical or even philological objections, Strauss, Parker and others have endeavored to show that all the miracles are only natural myths, clustering around the few elementary facts which form the basis of Christianity. Because the religions of most nations, as well as many historical facts and personages, in the earlier period of their history, are invested with myths or legendary fictions, it is inferred that such also must be the case both with Judaism and Christianity. Much might be said in reply to this theory; but we will limit ourselves to the remark, that though the premises may be admitted, the conclusion may be peremptorily denied. Because there have been many false pretensions to freedom, are we to conclude that there is no such thing, or that there never will be such a thing as freedom? Because many histories, especially in their earlier periods, are fictitious and extravagant, must we infer that all histories are of the same character? Because religion has frequently appeared in the garb of myth and poetic legend, must we accept the conclusion that God can not give us the true religion without such appendages?

All the ancient nations, with the exception of the Hebrews,

were idolaters. If, then, all the religions of such nations, in their mythical forms, were false, may not that of the Hebrews be true? If other forms of faith, growing up by a natural process, and thence invested with much human error, were associated with false or pretended miracles, may not Christianity, based as Strauss and Parker are compelled to own, upon absolute and eternal truth, be associated with true miracles?

We might also inquire, how comes this universal belief in miracles? It is a fact to be accounted for. Why should all mankind, with inconsiderable exceptions, cherish the indelible conviction that they must be found somewhere? It seems to spring from an instinct, or an intuition, as deep and all-pervading as that which gives them the idea of God and immortality. Hence, instead of an argument against miracles, the mythic theory is a presumption in their favor. Only we must be careful to distinguish between the real and the spurious, the divine and the human. Both have their characteristics.

But the whole is a question of fact; and Strauss, from whom Parker and others have borrowed, unconsciously dissatisfied with his theory, has attacked them chiefly on historical and philological grounds. He has gathered together all apparent discrepancies and contradictions, to falsify their claims. After all, the great historical verities, or fundamental facts, springing from the supernatural character of Christ, and forming the essence or basis of Christianity, are left untouched. No quibbling with particulars, or even the citation of real difficulties, can affect the history as a whole. It has woven itself, as a historical reality, into the very fabric of society; there it stands, in its divine and supernatural power, and there it will stand forever. The source of a river may be far inland, and much hidden among woods and hills; so that some dispute may be indulged respecting the localities of its origin, and particularly as to the individual streams which have swelled its current; but it has originated among those woods and hills, and yonder it comes, rolling its mighty tide of waters to the distant sea.

5. Finally, the miracles have been assaulted on the ground of experience.

Assuming that a miracle is "a violation of the laws of nature," which laws "are established by a firm and unalterable experience," "there arises," says Hume, "the contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof;" so that "the proof against a miracle from the nature of the facts, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be

imagined. On this ground he maintains that "no amount of testimony can prove a miracle;" which is precisely the same thing as to maintain that a miracle is impossible in the nature of things. That this was his real theory, can admit of no question. Speaking of certain alleged miracles, he says, "What have we to oppose to such a cloud of witnesses, but the *absolute impossibility* or *miraculous nature* of the fact." The sum total, then, of Hume's argument, is *that a miracle is to be rejected because it is a miracle*, assuming it to be "a violation of the laws of nature," and thence *impossible*. But he forgets his own principles, and in the course of his argument, actually admits that there may be miracles of such a kind as to admit of proof from human testimony; only he will not allow them in connection with religion; and why? Because "mankind have been so frequently imposed upon by pretensions of that sort!" Thus he changes his ground, and abandons his argument.

That miracles are possible, not as a violation of the laws of nature, but as a special manifestation of a Power beyond the resources of nature, or the laws which control its movements, must be conceded by every one who believes in a God. Even Theodore Parker, who more than once avails himself of Hume's sophism, admits their possibility. He says, "Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion," p. 254, "There is no antecedent objection, nor metaphysical impossibility in the case," namely, that a miracle may be what he calls "a transgression of all law known or knowable by man, but yet in conformity with some law out of our reach." "Finite man," he adds, "not only does not, but can not understand all the modes of God's action, all the laws of his Being. There may be higher beings to whom God reveals himself in modes that we can never know, for we can not tell the secrets of God, nor determine *a priori* the modes of his manifestation. In this sense a miracle is possible. The world is a perpetual miracle of this sort. Nature is the Art of God; can we fully comprehend it? Life, Being, Creation, Duration, do we understand these actual things? How then can we say to the Infinite, hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; there are no more ways wherein thy Being acts? Man is not the measure of God."

We will not stop here to remark upon the latent argument against miracles, even in this concession, by the ambiguous use of the expression, *transgression of the laws of nature*, much the same as Hume's "violation of the laws of nature," upon which Mr. Parker seems to argue, in other parts of his book; we will take the passage as it stands, cordially thank-

ing him for his important admission ; for now the only question that remains touches the evidence of the fact.* Mr. Parker himself momentarily sees this, and immediately addresses himself to the evidence, which he demolishes (in his own view) by a few dexterous blows. But it is not so easily got rid of. Mere assertions will not disprove it. Declamation will not diminish its power. Pretended miracles, those, for example, of the dark ages, may seem to have as much and even more evidence ; but this is a fancy easily disposed of. It is appearance only, and may deceive the unwary, but not thoughtful, well-informed men. No one in the slightest degree acquainted with legendary or monkish miracles, will bring them, for a moment, either as to their nature or their evidence, into comparison with the miracles of Christ. Fifty witnesses, in a court of justice, may testify on one side, and their evidence may seem to overpower and utterly extinguish the testimony of two or three simple and candid men, on the other side ; but the instant their true character and the circumstances of the case are fairly presented, the evidence of the fifty vanishes into thin air, while that of the two or three is established forever. Every thing, in such a question, depends upon *character* and *circumstances*. The thousand and one stories, then, of foolish monks or garrulous old women, nay more, the solemn depositions of learned and dignified bishops, besotted by superstition, may well be dismissed from the account. In nothing but their name, do they bear the slightest comparison with the divine mission, or supernatural works of Jesus Christ.

But how is it with this matter of experience ? There seems to be something in it, after all. What are its nature and bearings on the question at issue ? If the word as used by Hume, means any thing, it must mean our individual experience, or the experience of the race. If it means our individual experience, then it makes that which is necessarily limited and imperfect, the standard of all possible events, an assumption utterly preposterous. If it means the experience of the race, including that of the first Christians, the apostles of Christ, and the writers of the gospel histories, then it takes for granted the very point to be proved. For we maintain

* After all, we apprehend that Mr. Parker's concession is a mere logical or rhetorical ruse ; for he must ultimately base his denial of miracles on their impossibility. Hence in his "Two Sermons," announced at the head of this article, he makes the following bold statement.

"I do not believe there ever was a miracle, or ever will be ; every where I find law—the constant mode of operation of the infinite God. I do not believe in the miraculous inspiration of the Old Testament, or the New Testament," &c.

that miracles were matters of experience in the days of Christ and his apostles. Hume, however, was too acute to mean any thing more than the general conviction of mankind, derived, as he thought, from experience, with reference to what may be termed the uniform action of the ordinary laws of nature, in the case of miracles, partly suspended or controlled, as we suppose, by some higher power or law beyond our knowledge. But nature can never be contrary to God, nor can God be contrary to nature, consequently an inferior law can never be contrary to the action of that higher law by which it is controlled. Even now the law of life controls, sometimes suspends the action of chemical laws; but they are never contrary to each other. In Christianity, life is restored to the dead. Lazarus, for example, rises from the tomb, at the command of Christ. That divine power, then, or power of life, by virtue of which this takes place, may be represented as the higher, or unknown law, which, in this instance, controls the ordinary laws governing organized beings. But there is no real opposition between them, no violation, transgression or perversion of any thing. A new and stupendous power has intervened, and a new and stupendous phenomenon is the result. This is ascribed directly to God himself, the great original Life-giver, who, when the darkness of primeval night brooded upon chaos, said, "Let there be light and there was light."

Thus, the uniformity and immutability of nature and its laws, are not absolute but relative; relative, we mean, to God, who presides over them with the supremacy of a master. Their uniformity for five thousand or ten thousand years, is no proof that previous or subsequent to that period, a change was or is not possible. In a word, it does not follow from the general uniformity of nature's laws, that God, "whose they are and whom they serve," may not interpose at specific eras, by means of new creations, regenerations and miracles. To deny this, would make matter eternal, and God a mere natural and blind necessity, without freedom or choice.

Our experience, however, of the general uniformity of nature's laws, leads us of course, to reject all pretensions to miracles on ordinary or frivolous occasions, or on such occasions as a divine intervention can not be supposed. "Lying wonders," in the garb of miracles, are essentially incredible; for they are derogatory not only to the laws of nature, but to the character of God. Their external evidence or testimony may seem imposing, but it is never really adequate. Thoroughly sifted, it will ever be found partial, selfish and contradictory. It may be allowed then, *that no amount of such testimony can prove such a miracle.* A true miracle must have

an adequate cause, and that cause God. And as it is fair to assume that God will always act consistently with himself, it follows that a true miracle will only be performed for a sufficient reason, or with reference to an adequate purpose. So that mere portents and prodigies, monkish marvels and mesmeric wonders, whatever other character they have, may be rejected as *divine miracles*, without further examination. God, we repeat it, will always act like himself; and although we know little of his essence or mode of working, we know enough of his character to be certain that all his works will be holy, just and good, with a certain air of simplicity and majesty, fitly styled "divine." Consequently, when he does interpose by miracles, as in the first act of creation, when "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy," or in the new spiritual creation ascribed to Jesus Christ, the occasion is worthy of his infinite majesty and grace, while the results are the most stupendous and beautiful that can be conceived. For, once more the angels sing, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will to men."

Thus, Hume's suggestion misapplied and abused as an argument against the supernatural character of Christianity, after all, has something good in it, as it supplies us with this practical rule, that our experience of the uniformity of nature's laws ought to make us suspicious of all miraculous pretensions on ordinary, inadequate, or frivolous occasions. We ought never to forget, however, that the spurious proves the possible existence of the genuine, the false of the true. Shadows can not last forever. *Lux post nubila*. At last the morning of a heavenly day dawns upon the nations. The kingdom comes. The new creation, all aglow with the light of God, bursts upon the world.*

To enforce our meaning, and bring the matter to a practical issue, take the following illustrations: Were some one of ordinary credibility to inform us that a person apparently dead by drowning, had been resuscitated by the means ordinarily used to restore suspended animation, we should believe it at once, without further inquiry, for the thing comes within the scope of ordinary experience, and is perfectly natural in the circumstances supposed. Were the same person to inform us that he had just seen alive and well, a friend known

* Parker and others lay great stress upon the assumption that more evidence is required to prove a strange or miraculous event, than one of an ordinary kind. But that depends altogether upon *circumstances*. In our humble opinion, it is not so much a question of *quantity* as of *quality*. Something too, depends upon the mind to be convinced. All the evidence in the world will not satisfy some men.

to be dead and buried several days, we should probably be unwilling to credit the assertion. We should conclude that there must be some mistake in the case; for the dead can not rise under the action of the ordinary laws of nature. For the production of such a result, the exertion of a divine power, equal to creation, is needed, which can not be expected, except at some grand or peculiar crisis. If, however, four, five, a dozen honest and competent witnesses were to testify to the occurrence of a similar fact, we should deem it quite extraordinary; still, we should suspend our judgment till the matter should receive a thorough investigation. There is, indeed, no *a priori* impossibility in the supposition that God should raise the dead; but certainly there is a high moral presumption against the exercise of such power on ordinary occasions. Hence, our hesitation and doubt, justified alike by religion, philosophy and common sense. On which ground it may be assumed that all pretensions to miracles on common or frivolous occasions are essentially incredible. Nay, we may go further, and maintain that in all probability, miracles, as special divine interventions, equal to creative acts, can be expected only once or twice in the history of the world, that is, at those peculiar and critical epochs, when Jehovah must interfere by special divine manifestations for the establishment of a true religion, or the introduction of a new moral creation among men.

We have supposed an imaginary case. Let us now describe a real one. The world, by wisdom, knew not God. The leading nations had outgrown their pagan creeds, but could not replace them with a higher and purer faith. They were departing further and further from truth and duty. Darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people. New forms of skepticism, or of superstition, were eating into their hearts, yet they were longing madly and vainly for some heavenly light. An obvious crisis or turning point had arrived in the history of the world. The nations were expectant. All nature was prepared for the advent of God. It had been predicted in certain ancient books, that at such a time, a Redeemer should come, in lowliness and meekness, yet with transcendent wisdom and mighty power, to regenerate souls.

In these circumstances a personage claiming the character and function referred to, makes his appearance in the Holy Land. His aspect and manners correspond to the idea of a divine teacher. He speaks on the subject of religion and morals, of life and immortality, as man has never before spoken. His purity is unquestioned, his benevolence expansive and wonderful. He penetrates the secrets of nature,

of man and of God, as by an intuition, and develops in language of amazing simplicity and force, a system of absolute religion and morals. In every respect, he transcends his age, and indeed all ages. Simple and august, gentle, yet severe and commanding, he goes forth to do and to suffer the will of God, supplying not only in his creed, but in his person, a splendid illustration of the power of goodness, infinite and immortal. He performs many wonderful works, and suffers much from the persecution of the ungodly. He predicts his own death, looking forward to it as a great spiritual necessity, with a sublime and mysterious confidence. At last he dies by the hand of the public executioner, praying for his enemies, and exclaiming, "It is finished!" But previous to this, he had predicted not only his death but also his resurrection, as the necessary completion of his career on earth and the crowning proof of his divinity. His disciples indeed, are incredulous of the fact, and give up all for lost. Their hopes are buried in his tomb. His enemies, aware of his predictions, secure his sepulcher by the government seal and a guard of Roman soldiers. But on the third day the sepulcher is empty; the body of Jesus is gone. He appears, however, to some of his disciples, not once but again and again, and in circumstances admitting of no delusion. At first some of them doubt, but subsequently obtain ocular, nay more tangible demonstration of the fact; so that all are entirely satisfied as to the fact of his resurrection. Such at least is their testimony, a testimony which they bear before the judicial tribunals and people of the Jews, and which they repeat in all conceivable circumstances to their dying day, in spite too, of persecution, contumely and wrong. At last they behold him ascend from the earth; in other words, pass into the spiritual and immortal sphere; in parting, they receive his blessing, filling them with unutterable peace. His spirit of might and love takes possession of their hearts, and they go forth in his name, to found among men, a kingdom of righteousness and love.

Here every thing is natural and becoming. The testimony is ample and satisfactory. It is uniform and uncontradicted. The occasion is the most august and thrilling in the history of the world. The result is stupendous and beautiful. Life and immortality are brought to light;

"The gates of Paradise
Stand open wide on Calvary."

We have spoken of miracles. After all, Christ and his gospel may be represented as but one miracle, the miracle of eternal love, first embodied in Christ, and then embodied among men. He brought heaven to earth; and it is this

which is now struggling for supremacy in the world. The miracle stands before us now, modifying the interior spirit and the historic life of man, transforming individual hearts, and penetrating, as a leaven of regeneration, into the great mass of fallen humanity. God has smitten the rock in the far wilderness, and the streams are flowing yet to refresh the weary millions. In a word, God through Christ is reconciling the world unto himself, so that angels and men are still singing, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good will to men." T.

ART. II.—SCHOOLS IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

The Koran. Translated, with Notes, and a Preliminary Discourse. By GEORGE SALE, Gent. 8vo. Philadelphia: J. W. Moore. 1851.

A DIFFICULT theme is the one thus suggested. Meager and wide scattered are the materials from which a just sketch can be made; and even then it must be but a skeleton outline, lacking much of the filling-up in detail, and of the minute shading, which are essential to a complete picture. Nevertheless, perhaps enough may be seen to make the Turk appear gorgeous in his mental array, as he is in his flowing costume. The very ampleness of his robes may hide, or divert us from the elaborate workmanship of his under-dress; and so the magnificent exterior of his mosques and surrounding colleges may unfit the mind to scan with justness, the obscurer machinery for mental training, shut behind those vast and brilliant walls.

Here is hinted the grand reason why we know so little of the educational systems of the Turkish empire. The majority of visitors to the towns of Turkey are not scholars, and therefore are not interested in its school system. Merchants and seafaring men, loitering millionaires and sons of the wealthy, just escaped from college durance, men seeking to save time and to kill it, to get money and to get rid of it, can not of course, be expected to inquire into that in which they feel no interest. Moreover, men of cultivated tastes and inquiring minds, who make tours abroad for mental improvement, have time only for a glance at the surface of things. At Constantinople, for instance, the professional gentleman, or the young candidate for one of the learned professions, spends his *week*; and during this time he *must* see

the mosques and the palaces, the bazaars and the public squares, the city walls, her bulwarks and ships of war, the Horn and the Bosphorus, the sweet waters of Asia and the sweet waters of Europe, the caiques and the ox-coaches, the sultan and the dancing dervises, the soldiers and the women; and ere this hurried round is completed, the steamer which is to bear him onward, is sweeping around the watery walls of the seraglio, and he must bid a hasty adieu to the golden city of the East. Yet again, men of culture and of leisure, who spend even years here, connected with foreign embassies, and who write extended works, the study and gleaning of long observation, fall too readily into compliance with that spirit of the age which has made history a mere chronicle of battles and kings' doings, instead of a picture of what the people are, and do and think; and in two whole volumes, written on Constantinople by a learned resident there, every thing that strikes the eye will be found elaborately and graphically sketched, while the *one thousand (and more) common schools*, and the numerous colleges of that city, are entirely unmentioned, or are but alluded to in a paragraph.

Varied and scattered, therefore, must be the sources from which the materials of even an imperfect sketch of the schools of Turkey are drawn. The traveler interested in the inquiry will, especially at Cairo and Constantinople, have favorable opportunities for personal examination. He may avail himself also of the invaluable information to be derived from gentlemen connected with the American embassy at Constantinople, and from the missionaries of the American Board, some of whom have been for more than twenty years sojourners in the cities, and tourists through the provinces of the Turkish empire. The student at home who would investigate this subject, must consult a wide range of writers on the East, in whose pages he will find only scattered chapters and paragraphs, containing the information which he seeks. Among others, the following works, accessible in the libraries of Cambridge and Boston, will serve as aids: among Muhammedan writers, "The Koran," translated by Sale; "Muhammedan Philosophy," translated into English by Thompson, from a Persian work of the fifteenth century; "Abulfeda's History," Latin translation; and "Chronicles of the Empire," from 1591—1659, A. D., by Naima, in a French translation: in the *German*, the work of Van Hammer, the great Orientalist, on Constantinople, published at Pesth, Hungary: in *French*, "Travels in Arabia," by Niebuhr, the historian, 1761—67; "Tableau Général de L'Empire Othman," by D'Ohsson, Swedish ambassador at Constantinople, published at Paris 1788: in *Spanish*, "Viagede la-

Esquadra Española á Constantinopla," published at Madrid, 1784: in *English*, "Burckhardt's Wahabees," &c.; "Lane's Modern Egypt;" "Crichton's Arabia;" "Sketches of Turkey in 1831-2," (anonymous, but by Dr. McKay, brother of Com. McKay;) "Stephens' Russia, &c., (1835;)" "Researches in Armenia," by Rev. E. Smith and H. O. Dwight, 1833; "Christianity Revived in the East," by Rev. H. O. Dwight, published 1850; the volumes of the *Missionary Herald* and other documents, at the rooms of the American Board Com. For. Missions, Boston.

As the population of the Turkish empire is three-fold in character, and each race has its own school system, it will aid our survey to examine the field in three sections:

1. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

Brief and fragmentary must our sketch be of this branch of inquiry. Several centuries *before* Christ, and for six centuries *after* Christ, the portion of country now called Turkey, was under the *civil* dominion of Greece and Rome; and naturally Grecian and Roman systems of education became generally prevalent throughout the entire region. From the time of Constantine, three centuries after Christ, Christianity became nominally, and to a great extent really the *religion* of this entire country; so that the schools of the land were Greek and Roman fundamentally, but modified by the new system of religion. At this day the Christian population is every where respectable; generally it is the more intelligent class in society; and sometimes it is the bulk of the community. The Copts in Egypt, the Syrians and Maronites in Palestine and Syria, the Greeks in Asia Minor, form an important part of the population of the towns in those regions; while the great Armenian race people the wide country east of Asia Minor toward Persia, and are found in large numbers in all the large towns of Turkey as well as of Asia in general. The Christian population of Turkish towns is generally the middle class; that class which in all societies of the human family are the link between the rich and the poor, between the ruler and the ruled. They are the merchants and artisans, the employers and suppliers; the *negotiators* between the two extremes of the community. As their very position in society demands mental cultivation, so their efforts to promote education among their sons have in their depressed circumstances been most commendable.

The *Greek*, however much he may have degenerated, has no where lost the mental activity and the zest for intellectual cultivation peculiar to his fathers. The fact that in free Greece, a quarter of a century has been sufficient to bring

the female schools and the University of Athens up to almost the advanced improvement of the seminaries and colleges of our own country, bears testimony that the Greek mind has never been wholly uneducated. Among the Greeks in the Turkish territory, elementary instruction in reading, writing and the common branches of a business education, has never been neglected. Moreover, since the new impulse given to the *Turkish* mind in mental culture, the facilities for an advanced system of college or academical study, which before were limited chiefly to the convent cloister, have now become more practical in their character and more open to all the young Greeks who would improve them.

Just after the Greek Revolution, about 1828, partly through the influence of the American missionaries, who furnished the materials, as books, cards, &c., schools on the Lancasterian system were established at Constantinople and elsewhere, by the Greek residents. In many a rude shed of a school-room does the interested visitor look in on a band of Greek boys and youth gathered; first opening their session with religious exercises; then spending hours in reading with native zest, the old Greek classics, and studying the elementary branches of a common-school education, (the advanced pupils being the instructors of the younger;) and finally closing their session with a prayer to the Virgin. About the same time, also, a Greek college was opened at Halki, Constantinople. The head of this college was an intelligent Greek, who spoke French and English, Turkish and Arabic, as well as his own tongue. Language, facility in reading, writing and speaking the cultivated tongues of Europe and Western Asia, was in this as in other colleges of the Levant, a prominent object sought. Science and philosophy, and their application to the arts of life, had also their appropriate share of attention. The head or president of the college taught mathematics and ancient Greek, still the classic tongue; an Italian taught his native tongue, and the handwriting of Western Europe, by the Roman letters; a Frenchman taught his vernacular; a Greek the Romaic or modern Greek, and an Armenian the Turkish language. A thorough training in the branches necessary to a business education was also given. The discipline of the college was mild, and professors and pupils lived as in a family together. They ate at the same table, teachers and pupils faring alike, except that *wine* (the light wine of the country, much like our cider) was furnished only to the instructors. The entire expense to the student for board, lodging, &c., was £23 (about \$112) per year. For about ten years, till 1838, this college flourished, having about eighty pupils, and yearly sending out thoroughly educated young Greeks, pre-

pared to exert a wide influence in the community among which they moved. In the latter days of Sultan Mahmoud, through the despicable intrigue of Russian diplomacy, the college was much restricted in its influence and the number of its students diminished. At the time of Mahmoud's death, in 1839, it was suppressed. Soon after the accession of the present Sultan, however, through his liberal policy, it was revived again; and except that Russian influence prevailed to exclude the English language, it became and has remained worthy of its first character.

Among the *Armenians*, the most important and numerous class of the Christian population of Turkey, education, to a certain extent, has been a necessity of their position; since they are the active and planning, the manufacturing and trafficking Yankees of the East. This people, great in many a sense, a central light in the vast continent of Asia, date back their history as a nation to Haico, a contemporary of Belus, who lived two hundred years prior to the age of Abraham. Successively subjected to the Assyrian, Mede, Persian, Greek and Roman, they felt (and perhaps favorably) the influence of all these cultivated nations. On the fall of Rome's power in the East, recovering for a time their independence, they rose to intellectual, moral and religious eminence, and exerted a redeeming influence on the nations around them. Intermediate between the Roman and Arabian ages of literature, comes that of the Armenians. Led by their tastes, to the cultivation of *letters* rather than of *science*, invaluable monuments of their literary labors yet remain. Embracing, as a people, the Christian religion in the fourth century after Christ, the translation of the sacred Scriptures into their tongue gave a new spring to the Armenian mind, as afterward the version of king James gave in England a start to general mental culture. Their *schools* were extensively organized. Their classic authors, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and Grecian, found Armenian translators; an interesting specimen of which is a version of Homer in Armenian hexameter. Original writers also made peculiarly extensive and valuable researches in history; gathering up the scattered and perishing records of internal Asiatic national life and progress which otherwise might have been utterly lost. A complete set of the Armenian historians of that age, now in the royal library of Paris, is exciting more and more the attention and interest of French scholars. Of the internal structure and operation of the educational system of that age, however, we have been able to find no distinct description.

Their faint impress, however, doubtless may be seen in the Armenian schools of modern times.

After the rise of Muhammed, the Armenian nation became subject to the Arabian power; whence they passed for a short time under the Persian and then under the permanent Turkish sway. Their own historian cites the era of the Muhammedan supremacy as the time when commenced the *decline of education* among the people of the nation. Little more can we learn of their schools until we come down to quite modern times; when the exulting and eulogistic chronicler gives the picture of the founding of the famed Armenian College in Russia, and of the rise of learning consequent thereupon.

In 1812 died Johannes Eleazar, an eminent Armenian scholar who had occupied the high station of privy counselor to the Russian Emperor. The thoughts of his last years were turned to the accomplishment of a grand scheme for the educational improvement of his fellow-countrymen. Dying, however, without executing his project, he left by will his large property devoted to the work, appointing his brother, Joakim, his executor to carry out his plans. A man of kindred spirit, Joakim laid the foundation of a beautiful and extensive college edifice at Moscow in 1814, which was finished in 1816; thus employing his brother's legacy. After completing the building, he added 200,000 rubles, (\$150,000,) from his own funds, as an endowment for poor scholarships. The interest of this fund, at five per cent., amounting to \$7,500 annually, was devoted to the maintenance of thirty indigent students. Two sons of Joakim, educated at the best Russian colleges, were placed at the head of the institution. A committee of learned men and professors, many of them connected with the Royal Academies of Moscow, were constituted a Board of Supervision. Armenian youth and students from other nations also, were admitted. The qualifications for admission were, that the applicant should be from eleven to fourteen years of age, and be able to read and write the Armenian language. The course of study occupied six or seven years. The branches pursued were, the Armenian, Russian, German, French and Latin languages, grammar, rhetoric and logic, geography and history, mathematics and the sciences generally, and also drawing and other liberal arts. Candidates for the clerical, legal, medical and military professions, could prosecute their professional studies at the college also. Thirty students were maintained gratuitously; and it was sought to increase this number by obtaining additional endowments. The annual charge for students not

thus sustained, was 600 rubles, or \$450; which included all charges except clothing. A few sentences from the written appeal afterward made by Joakim to his nation, may impress the importance attached to the support of *charity schools*, and also may furnish a hint as to the gathering of *libraries*: "I have," writes he, "done as much as was in my power for the edification of the youth of our nation. It now depends on you to extend the capabilities of the institution. Should any of you wish to send any sum by way of contribution to the college in the name of God and to the honor of our nation, the college will then be able to increase the limited number of gratuitous students from thirty to forty, or even fifty. If any of our nation will present to the college printed or manuscript books or pamphlets, such as histories, narratives, commentaries, &c., he may be assured of their being carefully preserved by us in our rich library, for which I have laid out more than 20,000 rubles; and the title-page of such book or pamphlet shall bear the name of the donor." For years subsequently, this college was in a flourishing condition, and probably now is; although (like most institutions of learning in every land) it has been chiefly dependent on the munificence of a few individuals of the opulent and noble-spirited Eleazar family.

It might be expected that the founding of such an institution of a high order, would give a new spring to the systems of *elementary* education in the Armenian nation. Such to a limited extent only, seems to have been the result. In their extended "Researches in Armenia," made from 1831-33, Rev. Messrs. Smith and Dwight found the clergy generally less educated than the business classes, and the schools even for instruction in reading and writing much neglected. The opening of schools, however, by the American missionaries, conducted after the model of our schools, has aroused an interest far and wide which has resulted in a partial and temporary revival and remodeling of their school system. As early as 1825, the publication in various languages of a letter of Dr. King, awakened this new impulse. In 1834, in an Armenian school of four hundred boys at Constantinople, great improvements were introduced; among which were the daily reading and explanation of the Scriptures.

In 1835, a large Armenian seminary was founded at Haskoi, and in 1838, another at Scutari, a suburb of Constantinople, in which the Turkish, Greek, Italian, French and English languages, and the elements of mathematics, geography and astronomy, were taught by native instructors. In this latter seminary, supported by the Armenian bankers of

the city, six hundred pupils were soon gathered. The school was modeled throughout after one established by the missionaries. Lectures were given in the natural sciences, illustrated by a philosophical apparatus bought from the missionary school. Schools on the Lancasterian system were also established in both city and country, the teachers obtaining (often as a gratuity) their slates, cards of instruction, &c., from the press and stationery stores of the American mission.

A more recent effort made to promote the education of females has met with less favor; yet, much even here has been effected. In 1840, there were in Constantinople, with a population of 200,000 Armenians, *thirty* Armenian schools. Twenty-two of these were for instruction simply in reading and writing to boys; and *three* for the same instruction to *girls*. *Five*, of a somewhat higher grade, were for instruction in grammar and intelligent reading of the *ancient* Armenian, which now to a certain extent is an obsolete tongue, except as preserved in books. Soon after 1840, these schools, and the college also, were closed; the expense of their support bearing too heavily on their patrons. They have since, however, been reopened and have had a varying success.

Of the schools of the *Copts* of Egypt, a people numbering about 150,000, little need be said. The *boys* are taught to *read* the ancient Coptic, (now an unspoken tongue,) without understanding its *meaning*, in order that they may take part in the religious service of their church. Otherwise their education is much like that of the Arab population of the same country. A large number of Coptic youth in their schools, are trained for accountants, clerks and secretaries. Their chief reading book, not only in the Coptic but the Arabic tongue, is a translation of the New Testament.

Before proceeding to the survey of the Muhammedan schools of Turkey, these three marked features of *all* the schools of that country are suggested for special consideration. *First*, *Intellectual* education is *always* subordinate to moral and religious instruction; devotional duties and books of religion forming a chief study. *Second*, In *intellectual* training, *language* receives a much larger share of attention than *science*. *Third*, In the *endowment* of higher seminaries, *scholarships* for indigent students, even more than *professorships* call forth the bounty of munificent donors.

The inquiring traveler will be led next to observe,

2. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ARAB POPULATION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

Through the influence of Muhammed, their warrior prophete, the Arab tribes, separated by party feuds, and confined to

the limits of their own Arabia, were banded into one confederated empire; and, overrunning the Eastern possessions of the crumbling Roman power, they took possession of, and settled in, the countries now included in the Turkish Empire. The descendants of those former conquerors, afterward subjugated by the Turks, now form, in Egypt and Palestine, and through the Eastern part of Asiatic Turkey generally, the body of the population. As the Christians are generally the *middle* class, so the subject Arabs are generally the *lower* or *laboring* class of society; tilling the fields and doing the drudgery about the towns and cities, in the fertile and thickly peopled districts; or, in a merely nominal independence, wandering in scattered tribes, and feeding their flocks on the desert, and serving as the carriers of merchandise, thus occupying in society the rank of teamsters, wagoners and sailors.

It might be anticipated that little attention would be paid to mental culture among this class of the population of Turkey. Yet a people with such a history as the Arab race, even in circumstances most abject, could hardly become entirely degenerate from the spirit of their ancient nation, once so renowned for letters. Among the rudest Fellahs and Bedaween, there is an interest in education; while among the portions of the proud old Arabian stock where freedom to rise is permitted, the school system is yet the chief glory of their name.

In the rude ages of their history prior to Muhammed's rise, there had been among this imaginative race an enthusiasm for literary renown, similar to that which was seen among the early bards of Greece, who contended in public recitation for the laurel wreath; such too as fired the ancient ballad singers, who gave to our Saxon tongue its first written form. At Ocadh, near Taïf, a town not far from Mecca, in Arabia, in very early times we read that an annual fair of thirty days was held. A truce from all strife and conflict among warring tribes, reigned during this entire month, each year; and the merchants and people of every tribe, and of foreign nations, brought their wares together for general traffic and exchange. Hither also came the aspirant for poetic and oratoric fame, like those who gathered at the Grecian games; and here before their own and rival tribes, they poured forth the tide of prose and verse, and, in strains of glowing imagery, extolled the history of their people, the warlike deeds and prowess of their sheikhs and braves, or in soft lays sung the endearments of love. To be declared by the voice of the assembled tribes the victor in this contest of genius, was deemed the highest of honors; and the poem of

the successful competitor inscribed on Egyptian papyrus and in letters of gold, was hung up as an annual tribute in the great idol-temple at Mecca; which city, even before Muhammed, was the religious, if not the political center of the Arabian nation. Some of these poems are yet preserved, and they show that the perfection which Muhammed, in the Koran, was enabled to give the Arabic tongue, was attributable to the same causes which have made Homer, in the Greek tongue, and Shakspeare, in the English, stand as models for all subsequent ages. A long *previously existing educational* system, gradually ripening among the people, had prepared the mind of *writers* and *readers* for these master-pieces of advanced mental culture. What the educational system of that early age in Arabia was, we know not; but of no ordinary merit must it have been to have made Muhammed and so many preceding orators and poets, such writers and scholars as they proved to be.

Muhammed forbade the annual literary contest which had become a time-honored custom in his nation; since it yearly revived sectional remembrances, and strengthened family feuds among the tribes whom he sought to confederate. Moreover, his own life and that of several of his successors were too much occupied with war and conquest to culture the arts of peace. As soon, however, as the rising nation felt at rest in their new possessions, the demands of mental culture received special attention. They had become the physical masters of nations and peoples long under Grecian and Roman influence; and, as has often happened, the *subject* became *master*, in a higher sphere of dominion. A little more than a century after Muhammed, we read that the Khalif Almanzor founded a college at Bagdad, and called to the charge of it a learned *Greek* physician. About thirty years later, the famed Khalif Haroon el-Rashid, A. D. 786, came into power, the contemporary and friend of Charlemagne; and while the latter was doing so much for the advance of science and letters in the West, his noble rival was accomplishing yet more in the East. Haroon ordered a school to be attached to each mosque throughout his dominions; and with a truly catholic spirit, worthy of note in our day, he appointed as the chief director and general superintendent of all these schools, a *Nestorian Christian* of Damascus. A son of Haroon, Almamoun, the second in succession after him, became the Solomon, the Ptolemy II., in the great educational rise of his country. He began to perceive the want of *books* for his colleges; and like his predecessors at Jerusalem and Alexandria, he proved that of "making many books there is no end."

By purchase and otherwise, he gathered all the Hebrew, Greek and Persian manuscripts within his reach; and inviting Chaldean, Grecian and Persian scholars to his court, he employed them to translate into Arabic whatever could be rendered available for the purposes of instruction in his colleges. Yet half a century later, another advance in the educational movement in the Arabian empire appears. The Khalif Mostanser became a liberal *builder* of college *edifices*, and a yet more noble patron of *indigent students*. At Bagdad, he reared that magnificent college, which for vastness and splendor, has, perhaps, never been surpassed, and which called forth the wonder and admiration of his own and of later ages. Moreover, in the cities of the distant provinces, as well as at the capital, colleges were founded; among the most famous of which were those at Alexandria and Cairo, in Egypt, and at Seville, Grenada and Cordova, in Spain. As if to atone for the Vandalism of Omar, in burning the great library collected by Grecian and Roman taste and resources, at Alexandria, large public libraries were collected at the colleges; that at Cairo numbering 100,000 volumes, and that at Cordova increasing even to 400,000. Bagdad and Cordova were now the two eyes of the world; the one the great Eastern and the other the great Western center of science and letters. What was particularly to the honor of Mostanser, and a worthy model for a country like ours, not only *professorships*, but *scholarships*, were liberally endowed; and the son of the humblest laborer or mechanic, who proved himself worthy, was so provided for that he could stand by the side of the sons of nobles.

Of the plan of instruction pursued in these early colleges, only scattered notices are to be met in the works of the old Arabian chroniclers; though doubtless the Turkish colleges which succeeded them, yet retain their main features. From the occasional mention of Arabian historians we learn these facts. The chief object of education was the inculcation of the doctrines of the Koran, the foundation of all truth in law, morals and religion. There were *first, primary schools*; in which children, even of the lower orders, were taught to read, to write, and to practice the externals of religion. The great care here was to form a correct pronunciation of the Koran, and to commit its chapters to memory. Next came the *colleges*. The rooms for recitation, and the apartments for students, were generally connected with the *mosques*, being built in a low range around their open courts. In these there were some thirty or more apartments for pupils, three or four occupying the same room. At the head of the faculty of in-

struction was a rector or president, under whom was a corps of professors. The course of study related to *five* departments; 1st, The text of the Koran and Commentaries on it; 2d, The History and Traditionary Legends of Muhammed; 3d, Law; the principles of which were drawn chiefly from the Koran and its Commentaries; 4th, Philosophy; 5th, Poetry and Science. Thus, grammar, logic and the use of language, theology and theological jurisprudence, were the main pursuits; while science was but subordinate. The collection of books in the libraries was designed to illustrate these several departments, and especially to furnish text-books to the students; each one of whom was entirely dependent on its generous loans for all his materials for study. The books of the library were used as text-books; while moreover, the professors gave digested lectures, which were written down and preserved, as well as committed to memory, by the pupil. In science, a department having, it is true, more interest in our day, no mean attainments were made. In astronomy the old system of Ptolemy, which made the earth the center of the system, was maintained. Yet, on the plains of Bagdad, under Almamoun, about A. D. 820, a degree of the earth was with great accuracy measured; its spherical form was known; globes of silver and brass were made; and the earth's circumference was determined at 24,000 miles. Geography was an especially cultivated branch of study; the Arabian geographers of Cairo, Abulfeda, &c., being even now most accurate authorities. Chemistry in origin and name, is an Arabian science. The famed Geber, in the eighth century, was familiar with the acids, and dissolved gold in them. Medicine was thus greatly advanced as a science; chemistry teaching the Arabian physician the use of minerals in the *materia medica*. The examinations of a medical graduate are recorded to have been peculiarly rigid. Such was the university education of old Arabia.

In *modern Arabia* the glory of the old educational system is not entirely passed away. The elder Niebuhr, in his extensive travels and accurate observations in that country, has a paragraph only, on the schools and colleges of Arabia. There are usually schools connected with the mosques, called *medresseh*; where the children of all classes may learn to read the Koran. Persons of property and station usually employ private tutors in their families, however. In the towns generally, there are other schools than those at the mosques, for the *middle* classes; in which boys learn reading, writing and arithmetic. These are often on the main street, in the market, open entirely, like all the shops in the bazaar,

having no partition wall even on the street side. Here, seated at their little desks, all reading aloud and rocking back and forth as they read, the whole group may be gazed upon by every passer-by, while entirely unconscious and undiverted, they pursue their study. Besides these two classes of schools, there are in some of the great cities, and at favorable points, *colleges*, the *medresseh* proper; in which astrology, astronomy, philosophy and medicine are studied. The tourist Niebuhr, mentions two of whose fame he heard, one at Zebid and another at Damar, in the dominions of the Imaum; which he regrets that he had not visited.

In *Egypt*, however, the old Arabian educational system may be seen nearer its perfection. Subject, as the country has been for about thirty years, to a pasha who has made himself and his family independent of Turkey, and who has sought to maintain his position by advancing the native Arab race and removing the Turk, the schools of Egypt have become truly Arabian in their character. The facility with which the European has traversed country and city during the reign of the late Muhammed Ali Pasha, has made the educational system of Egypt, (really a part of Turkey, and like it in its internal polity,) particularly open to the examination of the interested inquirer.

In very early childhood, the *parent* is required by the Koran, to commence the education of his child; as says the Muhammedan moralist, "If we would prevent the child's acquiring culpable habits, we must apply ourselves to educate him as soon as he is weaned; for though men have a capacity for perfection, the tendency to vice is naturally implanted in the soul." The *infant* school, for *religious* education, is therefore the parental home. From the time his boy is weaned the father is taught to impress moral lessons on him; and, as soon as he can put words together, he is required to repeat, "I testify that there is no God but God, and I testify that Muhammed is his prophet." The father then teaches him to perform the ordinary washings, and to say the usual daily prayers; for Muhammed taught that a boy at *seven* should regularly say his prayers, and if at *ten* years he failed to do it, he should be beaten. At three or four years of age, this is usually accomplished. When four or five years of age, the child thus prepared, goes to the *kootab*, as it is called in Egypt, or the *meketteb*, as it is named in Arabia and Turkey generally. The name, substantially the same under either form, signifies the *writing-place*, a designation which will be seen to be most appropriate, although *writing is not taught there*. The *kootab*, so far as the grade of the school is con-

cerned, corresponds to our *primary school*. Of these there is one in every village of Egypt; and in all the large towns they are numerous. In them the children of the higher and middle and some of the lower class are taught to read, to recite the whole or part of the Koran, and to perform elementary exercises in arithmetic. The school-room is generally sufficiently primitive. In a low hovel, to which our rude sheds would be a palace; with its walls of black, dirty bricks, made by mixing mud with chopped straw, forming the bricks in molds, baking them in the sun only, and then laying them with mud; with its roof six feet only from the ground, and composed of palm branches, laid rudely across the top of the walls, and thatched with straw; with neither door, window nor floor—squat cross-legged on little palm-leaf mats spread on the ground, may be seen in village, town or city, a group of perhaps thirty dirty urchins; among whom moves or squats the master. This dignitary bears either the general title *sheikh* (*chief*) or *fickee*, (the knowing one, or *master*.) The extent of his literary attainments, usually, is to be able to write and recite the Koran, and to repeat the ordinary prayers required by his faith. These schools are generally connected with a mosque or a watering-place; and are usually built and sustained by private bequests, as a religious charity. The Muhammedan regards as one sure method of securing merit in the future world, *this*; to dig a well and build over it a little drinking house, leaving also a small annuity for the support of a keeper, who shall furnish gratuitously, to every passer-by, a “cup of cold water;” and to add to it, or to a mosque, a small *school-room*, leaving also a slight annuity to both teacher and pupils. From this annuity the teacher receives in the holiday month of Ramadan a tarboosh, or cap of red felt with silk tassel, a piece of white muslin to form a turban for his cap, a piece of linen (about twenty yards) to be cut into shirt, trousers and robe, and a pair of shoes. From the same fund each *pupil* receives a white cotton skull-cap, four or five yards of cotton cloth, half a piece of linen, (about ten yards,) a pair of shoes, and a piaster, (about five cents,) or half a piaster, in money. Besides this the teacher receives as a regular though small stipend, half a piaster, (two and a half cents,) every Thursday, (the Muhammedan Saturday,) from the parents; and in addition, as will be seen, an occasional trifling present. If these should fail to give him a support, he may add a little to his resources by obtaining opportunities to recite the Koran and prayers on special religious occasions.

Every boy on entering the school is furnished with a wooden tablet, about twelve or fourteen inches square, painted white; and this is to constitute his entire stock of *books*.

as well as writing materials. On this tablet the teacher writes as the first lesson for each pupil, the letters of the alphabet; and, repeating them himself, each boy, with tablet before him, grasped in both hands, sits rocking backward and forward, repeating them aloud. This rocking of the body and repeating aloud, practiced universally in the schools of the East, and that too from the highest aspirant for honors in the college, down to the little boy in the primary school, though creating a din and agitation which would utterly confuse a Western student, are both regarded as aids to the memory. Perhaps rightly are they thus regarded; for the ear aids the eye, and the constant exercise of the body may give healthful circulation through the brain. As the consonant letters of the Arabic are *twenty-eight* in number, and as several of these have *four different forms* according as they are the *first* letter of a word, the *middle* letter, or the *final* letter, either followed by another word or at the end of a sentence, the accurate acquiring of the first lesson is something of a task. When fully learned, this lesson is erased from the tablet, and the second is inscribed. This consists of the *vowel* points, and other signs of orthography. The Arabic, like the other Shemitic languages of Western Asia, having no letters for vowels, is usually written without any indication of the vowel sounds. For the *learner*, however, these sounds (as numerous as those in our language) are indicated by three little marks, which are placed above or below the letter, and have different shades of tone, according to the consonant sounds, coming both before and after them, in pronunciation. To learn the varied tones of these signs *when inserted*, and especially to be able to insert them when not written, is a work which makes the first learning of them an important task. This lesson mastered and erased, the *third* is the letters of the alphabet each with its *numeric value*. The numerals which *we* ordinarily employ, are a heritage from the Arabic; and the children of course have not parted with their fathers' patrimony. But while the ordinary Arabic figures are used in computation, as with us, the letters of the alphabet, like our Roman letters, are employed as numerals, in dates, in the headings of chapters, &c. As *each* of the Arabic letters has an arbitrarily fixed numerical value, the third lesson is something of a triumph for the pupil when accomplished. Then the proud fickee, drawing from his girdle his long case of writing materials, pulling out his reed-pen, and opening the covers of the little inkstands at the end, calls for the tablet of the scholar that has finished his alphabet. With red and black ink he draws a tasty border around the plain white tablet; and, writing upon it the first *spelling* lesson, he sends it that eve-

ning to the parent. In the morning the pupil brings it back, accompanied by a piaster or two for the master.

The lessons are now simple *words*, written on the tablet; such as the names of men and things; to be spelled and committed. This series of lessons is closed with the ninety-nine different names of the Deity; all of which are to be thoroughly committed. The spelling lessons thus completed, the first *reading* lesson is inscribed. This is the first chapter of the Koran, which is brief, and was written after the completion of the volume by the prophet, as an introduction to it. With this on his tablet, the proud boy, now promoted to the *third* class, goes home to his father to bring back another *back-sheesh*, or present, to the *sickee*, in the morning. The reading, spelling, pronunciation and memorizing of this first lesson in reading being achieved, the writing tablet before used is laid aside. Then manuscript copies of the Koran, bound up for convenience in small sections of a few leaves each, are brought from the school library, and loaned to the pupil. Now also he has a little rude desk of palm sticks placed before him, on which to rest his book. As the chapters of the Koran gradually diminish in length to the close, the pupil begins with the last, and proceeds back to the second; the first, or introduction, having before been studied. Each chapter is carefully read and committed to memory. At certain fixed stages in the pupil's progress through the volume, the master's small present is repeated.

The entire sacred volume, or but a portion of it, having thus been mastered, the pupil's education is completed, if he is destined to the employ of a laborer, mechanic, servant or waiting man. If he is to be engaged in trade, or in any occupation demanding it, he goes now to be placed under a sort of private tuition, with the official weigher and gauger of the market; from whom he learns *writing* and the elementary principles of *arithmetic*. This again is the completion of a *business* education. Parents who have the means often employ a private teacher for the earlier education of their boys.

The education of *females* in Egypt, is generally neglected; although some parents employ a female teacher to come to their harems and instruct their girls. Most of these are taught only to say a few prayers, and repeat a few chapters of the Koran; though some are taught also to read, and some even to write. Occasionally, also, a veiled little girl or two may be seen in the corner of a boy's school-room, engaged with them, and unnoticed by them. Very rarely, however, are the daughters of even the upper classes able to read. There are many female schools, however, in which *needle-work* is taught,

both plain-sewing and embroidery. In these the daughters of the humblest parents may be fitted to gain a livelihood by their own industry. The families of the higher orders often employ a private preceptress in this department of teaching. The *discipline* in the primary schools is usually mild. The teacher's word of reproof is generally sufficient. If this does not accomplish the object, the master employs a sort of bastinadoing as a punishment; whipping with a palm-stick the soles of the pupil's feet.

At Cairo, connected with the grand mosque El-Azhar, is the great *college* of modern Egypt. It should be remarked that while the late enterprising Pasha, convinced of the value of a *scientific* education, sustained at Paris a college for his young Arabs of promise, sending them there to receive a thoroughly European training as civil and military engineers, and as medical and surgical practitioners, the college in his own dominions has retained its old Arabian features. Hither resort aspirants for the place of religious teachers or civil judges in the towns of Egypt, or the surrounding country. The pupils generally have, before entering, made no acquisitions except those gained in the common schools. The immense mosque El-Azhar is surrounded by a large court or open yard, on the four sides of which, (and serving as a wall around it,) runs a range of low buildings, forming a sort of covered colonnade or portico, (like rows of sheds,) with rooms in the rear. The side toward Mecca is appropriated to places of prayer. On the other three sides the suits of apartments are devoted to pupils of each separate province of Egypt, as well as to those who may come from other Muhammedan countries. Each of these separate sets of apartments has a library of text-books for the use of the students. These text-books, together with lectures copied down from the mouth of the teacher, form the material of study. The course embraces the following regular succession of subjects: Grammatical Inflection and Syntax; Rhetoric; Versification; Logic; Theology; Exposition of the Koran; Traditions of the Prophet; The Science of Jurisprudence, drawn chiefly from the Koran and its Commentaries; and Arithmetic, so far as used in matters of law. Lectures are given also on Algebra, the old Arabian branch of science; and also on Astronomy, so far as it relates to the Muhammedan kalendar, the recurrence of the annual fast, and of the daily and occasional seasons of prayer.

It is a peculiar fact that the entire *maintenance of the college* is a *religious charity*. The professor's services are strictly *gratuitous*. As the students are chiefly from the *poorer*

classes, (for universally over the earth, it is in the walks of poverty that thirst for knowledge is awakened,) the professor receives no fees from his pupils. Moreover, he receives no salary, even from an endowment fund. His labors in the college, occupying but a portion of the day, are "*korban*;" a gift to the cause of learning and religion, an offering to God, and the paying of a debt to humanity. His living is gained by giving private instruction in wealthy families, by copying books, (a work which the printer does among us,) and by other literary or religious services. On the other hand, the *students* are the *salaried* ones. Tuition, room-rent, use of the library, &c., are furnished to all without charge; and to all whose residence is not in the city, food is furnished, out of an income from the rents of houses, and other property, which has been bequeathed as a religious offering to the college. Doubtless the European system of endowed professorships is an improvement on that of the East; but perhaps in care for the indigent student we have yet something to learn from the followers of Muhammed.

When sufficiently advanced, many of the pupils leave the college to become *kadis*, *muftis*, *fickees* or school-teachers, and *imaums* of mosques in the villages and towns; while some remain for years, and even for a lifetime, seeking to master the deep mysteries of Muhammedan philosophy, and to compass the exhaustless resources of the Arabic language and literature; spending even a lifetime in study, aspiring to be ranked among the higher Ulemah. The special application of the college training to the different professions into which the students may enter, however, belongs rather to our survey of the educational system prevailing among the *Turkish* population of the Empire.

Among the *Bedawee* tribes of the Desert, education is more neglected. As already mentioned, the Arab population of the Turkish empire live either in subject tribes, tilling the soil as in Egypt, or in tribes partially independent, in the desert sections, feeding their flocks and transporting merchandise. As in a community of teamsters or seafaring people, so among these goat-tending, camel-driving Arabs, migratory habits are unfavorable to mental cultivation; at least to that through the medium of books. Burkhardt mentions that among some of the tribes he visited, he did not meet a single person who could read or write. Most of the sheikhs, however, employ a teacher in their families; and as the young sons of these desert chieftains come to sit down for the evening in the passing traveler's tent, and to make a thousand inquiries about his dress, his language and his

country, they take pride in showing their attainments, by reading a passage in any Arabic book he may have about him, and in exchanging autographs to be preserved as keepsakes. By this power which education always gives, it is, doubtless, that the family of the sheikhs preserve, generation after generation, their superiority and influence over the other families of their tribes.

Glance we now at the concluding part of our survey.

3. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE TURKISH POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE OF TURKEY.

Back to the third son of Noah, in common with the nations of Northern Europe and Asia generally, the proud Turk traces the origin of his race. Obscure and barbarous in the wilds of the central regions of Northern Asia, lived for ages this branch of the family of Japhet. They were part of that great Tartar horde which was unknown to the civilized world until the Grecian and Roman conquests in the East. Even then they are but mentioned in Grecian history. Not until eighty years after Muhammed, A. D. 764, do they appear as an infant nation, growing toward a gigantic maturity, and destined for ages to hold sway over a large portion of the advanced and cultured nations about the Mediterranean. Invaded then by the new nation of Arabia, the Turks received the laws, the religion, and the *educational systems* of their conquerors. Taught thus soon to know their power, and to systematize their mental and physical strength and resources, the Turkish race rose with colossal might, and stretched its conquering arms eastward and westward. One wing of the Tartar power was spread out over China; and a Tartar prince yet sits on the throne of the Celestial Empire. Another wing, with darker portent, was made to overshadow Western Asia, Northern Africa, and even some of the fairest portions of Europe. The once subdued Turk, now conqueror, overran, and then passed beyond, the conquests of the Arab race. Even the myriad crusading hosts of Christian Europe, were swept away like insects before them; the Bosphorus was crossed, and Constantinople and Greeze were seized; and only the fastnesses of Hungary arrested their spread. Settling down then, to cultivate in a measure the arts of peace, the *educational system* of this people, long before received from Arabia, was gradually revived; their schools and colleges being formed chiefly on the old Arabian model first adopted.

In the early annals of the native historians, who began soon after the establishment of the Turkish empire to chronicle the passing history of their people, we find frequent incidental mention of *learned men* among them and of *numerous*

colleges already founded. Thus *Naima*, who wrote chronicles of the empire from A. H. 969 to A. H. 1037, (or from A. D. 1591 to 1659,) mentions frequent facts indicating an *advanced stage of educational progress* among the Turkish people. "Mustafa ben Muhammed," he records, "was one of the most learned men of his age. He studied under the learned Kâzi Zadeh and Sachli Emir in 963, (A. H.;) and he became head of an academy in 967." Again he writes, "Muhammed Elvâni studied first under Hamid Effendi; afterward he made the circuit of forty seminaries; and in 977 he became reader in Ali Pasha's *khannegah*, and in other ancient academies." Yet again he incidentally mentions, "Bitli Ali, in 963, became competent to read lectures in colleges." These casual allusions to numerous academies, colleges and seminaries, as already established nearly 300 years ago and about 100 years after Constantinople became the capital of the Turkish empire, may prepare our minds to appreciate the fact that from very early times, the Turks have had their own advanced system of education; and that the so called *revival* of education, commenced by their intelligent Sultans about sixty years ago, was rather an attempt to introduce *European improvements* into the stereotyped and unprogressive, though rigid and in some respects thorough, *Asiatic schools* for mental discipline and learning.

In order now to prepare our minds to comprehend the present system of Turkish education, to grasp the idea of the old and yet unchanged Turkish plan of college training, and to glance understandingly at the slow and difficult advance of modern improvement, we must needs consider briefly the character and position of the *learned classes* among the Turks, and their almost *supreme* power in the state.

The influential classes in the Muhammedan state are chiefly *two*; viz., the "Ulemah," who are the educated class, strictly so called; or men of the *law*; and "El-sayif," or men of the *sword*. At the head of the former class is the Grand Mufti, and at the head of the latter the Grand Vizier; whose *combined* influence rules even the Sultan; and whose conflicting and equalizing opposition can alone throw the balance of power into the monarch's hands.

The *ulemah* embraces *three* great divisions: the "*imân*," or ministers of *religion*; the "*mûfti*," or doctors of civil and ecclesiastical *law*; and the "*câdi*," or *judges* of the law, the ministers of *justice*. Among the *ministers of religion* there are *five* grades or *classes*. The lowest is that of mere *sexton*. The next highest is that of *muezzin*; men or boys chosen by the congregation attending each mosque, selected

usually for their strength and sweetness of voice, whose duty it is to mount to the lofty balcony of the minaret, at each hour of prayer, and to call the faithful to their devotions. The *third* rank is that of *imân* or curates; persons chosen by the congregation, a man for the male portion, and a woman for the females, whose duty it is to preside at the daily prayers in the mosque on week days, and to officiate at funerals and marriages. The *fourth* grade is that of *kâtib*, or writer; men chosen by the sultan, whose business is to read five prayers on Friday, (the Muhammedan sabbath.) The *fifth*, and highest class is that of *sheikh*; whom the grand mufti appoints, one for each mosque, and whose duty it is to read a sermon in the mosque after midday prayers on Friday. These sermons are usually moral lectures, written and delivered without gesticulation, or any attempt at oratory. The salary of this higher office is about 3,000 piasters, or \$150 per annum. Among the *ministers* of *justice*, there are also *five* principal grades. The lowest is that of *naib*; a magistrate whose authority is limited and local, corresponding very nearly to that of our justices of peace. The *second* is the *cadi*; judges in small towns, who hold their office by appointment for a limited time. Before them minor criminal offenses are tried; the witnesses on both sides standing before him and stating their testimony in turn, and the *cadi* deciding according to the law and evidence, and prescribing such a penalty as his judgment dictates. The *third* class is that of *mollah*, or district judges; who hold their courts in large towns, and have jurisdiction over a prescribed district, or province. The *fourth* and highest class is the *sadreh* or *superior* judge. Of this class one is *military* judge of all the European provinces of Turkey, and another of all the Asiatic provinces; one is chief judge in all matters of *finance* and inheritance in the European, and another in the Asiatic provinces. The *doctors* or *teachers* of the *law* are the professors in the colleges; among whom there is a great variety of grades; and who when combined are the most influential class in the state, since from them come not only the two higher orders of judges, but also the grand mufti himself, the supreme head of all the ulemah. This highest officer of *law* and *religion*, (for these *two* are indissoluble in the Muhammedan state,) has great authority and influence in the councils and decisions of the empire. By order of the sultan he announces all decrees, laws and judicial decisions. As the highest judge, he is often consulted; and his opinion is of the greatest weight in any trial. Any one engaged in a lawsuit, who desires, writes *anonymously* to him, stating the cir-

cumstances of his suit; and requesting his decision. In a single sentence, without stating the grounds of his opinion, the grand mufti writes a categorical reply, called a *fetwâh*. This reply is produced and read at the trial, and has an overruling authority. In the sultan's council of state, his authority is equal to that of the grand vizier, the head of the *executive*; and if they can not agree, one or the other must retire from office.

Having thus glanced at the character and office of the *ulemah* or learned class, let us now trace the course of educational training by which the young Turk is progressively advanced till he reaches the qualifications of the highest officer of state. After the parental instruction of early childhood, at the age of four or five years, the boy goes to the *mekteb*, or primary school. Bearing the *Arabic name*, this school is like the Arabic primary school already described, except that the reading and spelling of the *Turkish*, or *vernacular* tongue, takes the place of the *Arabic*, which to the Turk is a *dead*, or at least a *classic* and *sacred* language. These primary schools are numerous; being established in all the towns and villages, and numbering in the single city of Constantinople, fifty years ago, about five hundred, and now about one thousand. Von Hammer, in 1822, mentions that the official returns gave sixteen hundred and fifty-three primary schools as established in the city and its *suburbs*. These schools are chiefly founded and maintained by individual religious charities, given in bequests by men at their deaths. They are open to all classes; not only the teacher but a certain number of indigent children being provided with clothing, if not food, out of the established fund. The children of the lower and middle classes are the chief pupils; those of the wealthy and of men of station, having usually private tutors provided at home.

From the *mekteb*, or primary school, the boy goes to the *medresseh* or college. The *medresseh*, like the *mekteb*, is sustained in common with the mosques to which they are attached, by religious bequests. Few of the *poorer* classes, only a few of the more promising and enterprising, aspire to the toils and honors of the *medresseh*; the sons of the middle and higher classes being among the Turks more truly than among the Arabs, the favored candidates for position in church and state. The Turkish *medresseh*, as described by a succession of able and scientific travelers, visitors and residents from Europe and America, has varied little even during the last seventy years of reform, from the old standard; as little in fact as have the civil and religious foundation of the em-

pire itself, or the character of the men yet trained to support its political and ecclesiastical policy. The traveler who would visit one of these colleges is conducted to one of the principal mosques. Around the spacious edifice with its surrounding dome, is a wide inclosure or court-yard, with walks and shading trees; an inclosure such as formed the court of the Egyptian and Hebrew temples, and much like the green yards or parks around many of our public buildings and suburban churches. On the *exterior* of this inclosure, ranged as a wall or rather like the sheds back of a village church, on all the sides except that toward Mecca, runs a low range of buildings one or two stories in height. In each of these are from twelve to thirty little rooms, calculated to accommodate from one to four students. In large rooms, or halls, adjoining the mosques, are the libraries to furnish text-books for the students; there being numerous copies of the same work, which are gratuitously loaned for the pupil's use. The entire number of volumes in these college libraries, varies from one thousand to six thousand. There are also similar rooms for recitations and lectures. The officers of the college, or university, are a sheikh, or president, professors and tutors. In the *medresseh* proper, where the pupils are generally but boys or youth, three years or more are spent. The school corresponds much with our high schools or academies. Here the Arabic language is mastered; a task demanding maturer years and deeper study with the Turk than with the Arab, to whom it is vernacular. The thorough acquisition of this sacred as well as classic language of the Koran, is such a labor as one in our land can not easily appreciate. To gain the accurate pronunciation and grammatical forms of the *spoken* language, and then to superadd the mechanical sing-song chanting, the abstruse grammar and rhetoric of the old sacred books; to treasure up in memory the two hundred words for serpent, the five hundred words for lion, the one thousand words for sword, the innumerable distinct names for various shaped rocks and multiform clouds; to master the unbounded copiousness of the ancient and modern vocabulary—none but a patient Oriental would ever think of such a work. The elementary study of some other branches of the university course is here pursued. During these years of intermediate study, the pupils sit together as in the *Arabian* medresseh. The instructors are the *tutors*, who are generally called by the familiar title of sheikh, or master. Sitting smoking his hookah on a rug in the corner, or walking among the ranks of seated pupils, as they rock and sing with their open books on little desks be-

fore them, the sheikh aids and corrects the blunderer while getting his lesson, hears its recitation when completed, and maintains order and propriety. The *moodayris*, or professor, comes in to make an occasional, usually a monthly examination of the progress made.

This academical course at the *medresseh* completed, the pupil undergoes a rigid examination if he proposes still to aspire to a rank among the ulemah. If this examination be sustained, he passes from being a "*sooftah*," or *singed* one, (a term corresponding to our *freshman*,) to the title of "*moolah-zim*," or *confirmed* scholar. He may now, according to his choice, enter the school of immediate preparation for any one of the offices of the church; or, if he chooses the magistracy, he may fit himself for the subordinate permanent post of *naïb* or *justice*, for the higher and also life-long rank of *cadi* or *judge*, or for the more aspiring and constantly progressing character of *moodayris*, or *professor* or *doctor in laws*. If he decides on the *first*, a few years of study after leaving the preliminary school will suffice; if on the *second*, a longer probation is demanded; if on the *third*, a lifetime of university toil is before him. In either case, he goes to a college distinctly set apart for those of his class and pursuits. These separate university *departments*, are often called *Medresseh*, or a *College*; but sometimes they are termed *Dayr* or *Dâr*, i. e., *Convent*. There is the *Dar-al-hadiss*, or college for *tradition*; the *Dar-al-kirâyet*, or college for *laws*, &c. The different departments of study, for which these separate colleges are arranged, are *ten* in number: 1. Grammar; 2. Syntax; 3. Logic; 4. Morals; 5. Rhetoric, or the science of Allegory; 6. Theology; 7. Philosophy; 8. Jurisprudence; 9. The Koran and its Commentaries; 10. The Traditions of the Prophet. The *languages* specially studied as accomplishments of the learned are, the *Arabic*, which is the language of the sacred Book, the *Persian*, which is the language of poetry and history, and the *Turkish*, which is the language of the court and of recent publications in science and art. *Science* in the Turkish college has really no place; chemistry being taught only so far as it relates to medicine, and that only to medical students; and astronomy and other sciences being pursued only so far as they bear on the religious calendar and are necessary to the jurist.

While the candidate for *naïb*, or *cadi* is completing his shorter course, the candidate for *moodayris* enters first a *seven* years' course of study. At the termination of this course, he passes a rigid examination on the principles of Turkish legislation, and if approved is admitted to the *first* grade

of *moodayris*. Beyond this there are yet *nine* superior ranks, making *ten* in all. From twenty to forty years, according to the capacity of the aspirant, are occupied in rising through these various grades; each having its particular salary and perquisites. These having been successively attained, the rank of *mollah* or *chief judge* is open to him. In this last office there are also six grades of rank and attainment; the last of which is the highest of appointments, that of "*Grand Mufti*," or "*Sheikh ul-Islam*," *master of the True Faith*.

A visit to one of the superior departments of these colleges will indicate their general character. They are buildings connected with the *larger* mosques of the chief towns of Turkey, as Constantinople, Adrianople, Broosa, &c. Entering the college library, a collection of from one thousand to six thousand volumes and manuscripts in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages are seen, ranged on shelves and in alcoves, much like our libraries. As most of the collection are text-books for the students, many copies of the same work are observed, side by side. Larger works, such as the Koran, are divided up into thin sections containing a few leaves only, bound or stitched together, so that the student may have a portion only exposed to use and wear. On mats or low divans in the alcoves, here and there a thin-visaged, cadaverous pupil or professor, with garments, student-like, well worn and rusty, may be seen squat with open book before him, and in lugubrious nasal sing-song, reading aloud and rocking back and forth in time to his tune. Most students take the text-books to their rooms for study. Going to one of these student's rooms, the narrow apartment is seen to be furnished with two rugs and a cushion, serving as bed, coverlet and pillow. In one corner is a little pile of books brought from the library, and in another is a chimney where the hermit-like occupant does his own cooking. His fare is sufficiently simple. The college furnishes to him two thin cakes of bread each day, and a little rice once a week; while occasionally some person, seeking religious merit, or prompted by benevolent feeling, will bring a sheep and cut it up in the grounds, to be distributed through the college. A little soup of lentils or rice, or broth of mutton cooked in his earthen pot, and a little fruit, together with his bread, form the student's abstemious diet. Going to the recitation room at the hour of gathering there, the students are seen squat round on the floor; while on his rug in a corner, is the professor. The recitations are in part from the text-book studied at the rooms; and in part from lectures copied in the lecture room. With his pipe in one hand and his manuscript in the other,

the professor takes a whiff at the amber mouth-piece, and then reads in a slow measured tone, a brief sentence, or part of a sentence. Meanwhile the student, holding his broad large sheet of stiff paper spread on his left arm and hand, draws out from his girdle his long slim writing case. Taking out a reed pen, he unstops the little inkstand at one end of the case, dips his pen, and beginning at the right hand of his sheet with a slow still movement, writes (as we should say, *backward*) after the professor. Occasionally, especially when he imagines any pupil inattentive, the professor will ask a question, seeking to catch the delinquent. Thus, day after day, for long succeeding years, with Friday and the month of Ramadan for holidays, passes the student's life.

In many an age the spirit of reform even in the stolid Turk has sought to break in upon the stereotyped course of college study, which stifles all healthful inquiry, forbids all intellectual progress, and especially shuts out all improvement in *science* and *art* from the Turkish people. Almost invariably, however, the Sultan whose own tastes or enlightened views of political economy have led him to attempt a reform, has been able to make no successful headway against the *ulemah*, or learned class, represented in the council of state by the Grand Mufti, and against the men of the sword, whose head is the Grand Vizier; for professional interest has made these classes always opposed to reform. As early as A. D. 1727, in the time of Peter the Great, when the rise of Russia and the progress of Europe generally, began to turn back the tide of conquest on the degenerating Turk, Achmet III. was awakened to the importance of greater attention to science and learning. Having secured the consent of the *ulemah* through the Grand Mufti, Achmet for the first time subjected the revered Arabic letters to the molding and casting and pressing of the printer's irreverent art. The hallowed characters of the sacred Arabic, slightly modified in the ornate Persian and the courtly Turkish, were cast in type, and a printing press was set up in Constantinople. Fifteen different works, nine of history, two on geography, one on the compass, one on the various forms of government, an Arabic and a Persian dictionary, were thus given to the public in a printed form. But the old scribes, who copied with the pen, saw "their craft in danger," and priestly superstition withheld the sacred Koran from this novel and rough handling. Discontinued after the death of Achmet III., the work of printing was unknown for years. Abdool Hamed, about 1774, revived it again, but with little success.

In the year 1789, the year in which Washington was in-

augurated President of the United States, and in which the Bastille was destroyed by the French democracy, five years after the northern shore of the Black Sea was wrested from Turkey by Catharine II. of Russia, and while that ambitious Empress was meditating the capture of Constantinople itself, there came to the throne of the Turkish empire, a man capable of appreciating the station he was to hold. Most palpable to a discerning mind had the fact now become, that the stereotyped Asiatic policy of depressing the masses in ignorance in order to maintain the superiority of their educated masters, was a system that never could stand before the leavening influence of the general spirit of *Reform*, which was then elevating the people of Europe, through the influence of science and general intelligence. Turkey must have been blotted out from among the nations encircling the Mediterranean, had not her people been admitted to a share of that intelligence and culture which was giving a new life and power to the laborers in the field and to the common soldier in the ranks, and making them *men* instead of machines. So felt Selim III., who succeeded to the power of the Sultans the same year in which *popular progress* seemed to ascend a stable throne, in the person of the first chosen President of the United States.

Through Selim's influence, in 1796, seven years after his ascension, a Military College was established, and an attempt was made to introduce the light dress uniform and the improved military tactics of western Europe. At great expense, printing presses and founts of types in the Turkish character were obtained from western Europe. Such were the obstacles and opposition to be overcome, however, that in the course of twelve years, only forty different works were issued. These, nevertheless, were in a style that would have done honor to even the German, French or English press. But superstition and cupidity were too strong even for a Turkish monarch, and they prevailed. The Grand Mufti and the religious order with him, murmured that the sacred Koran was dishonored by being squeezed under the press; and the people cried that Christians were receiving public employ. In 1807, a general rebellion broke out, which finally triumphed. Selim was overpowered and seized, and his severed head was thrown out to appease the mob. A usurper for a time held sway.

But a faithful slave had hurried away and hid in the furnace of a bath, the heir to the throne; and soon Mahmoud II., a son worthy of his father, was restored to the light and to Selim's throne. The Janissaries, a military order which had grown up as the Knight Templars in Christendom, now

numbered 400,000. Interest attached them to the regular succession; and in 1808, they triumphed over the spirit of revolution, and Mahmoud II. was raised to his hereditary station. With intelligent and determined spirit, he soon revived the plans of his father. The young were in his interest, though the aged opposed. Educated foreigners were encouraged to settle at the capital, and the native Armenian Christians were extensively employed. The military school flourished, and the greatest of obstacles was overcome, viz., the change of the loose flowing robe and turban, so ill adapted to the soldier, for the tight-fitting Frank pants and frock coat and red skull-cap of Fez, now worn by every Turkish officer and soldier, from the Sultan down. For years, both the clergy and the Janissaries opposed; but the spirit of Mahmoud could not be overcome. In the very midst of the Greek revolution in 1826, the destruction of the Janissaries was planned and executed. At a time when foreign war made them least suspicious, they were separated into numerous detachments and ordered to different and distant stations; when, on a concerted day, by the Sultan's order, they were all fallen upon and with few and feeble exceptions, were cut off at a blow. Mahmoud could now, unopposed, pursue his plans.

A lively picture of the reformed military school, as he saw it in 1831, is given by Dr. McKay. Proceeding in a caique up the Horn to Hass Keni, his party landed near the college. Passing a pile of slippers at the door, they entered a large room with matted floor. Isaac Effendi, a Jew turned Mussulman, as his name and affix indicate, lolled in state on his divan, smoking his huge pipe with its amber mouth-piece, reading with slow, measured tone from a capacious manuscript. Before him were squat, some fifty or sixty youth, of from fifteen to twenty-five years, some in the uniform of their corps, with their stiff paper in one hand, a reed in the other, and their ink-horns by their sides, taking notes. The subject of the lecture was "the arrangement of companies and battalions." Besides the lectures of Isaac, *four* large volumes, a compilation of French elementary works on the sciences, filled up the course of study, which occupied three years.

At this period, the naval school also began to flourish. An event of which Stephens and others of our countrymen have with pride spoken and written, gave a stimulus unwonted to the spirit of naval enterprise. In the year 1826, just after the battle of Navarino, in which the Turkish fleet was destroyed by the English, French and Russian navies, a beautiful corvette was seen entering the harbor of Constantinople. As she wound gracefully around the Seraglio and

and dropped anchor at the mouth of the Horn, an American ship-builder, Mr. Eckford, of New York, and his foreman, Mr. Rhodes, were found to be the adventurous proprietors. Their model vessel brought them soon into the notice and employ of the Sultan. Mr. Eckford did not long survive his fortune; but Mr. Rhodes proved worthy his post. In a plain blue roundabout, among epauletted Turkish officers, he might daily be seen quietly acting as master of the great work going on. A proud day was it for the unassuming mechanic, when, in 1835, in the presence of the court and amid the incessant roar of cannon from the forts and palace, the first of those magnificent ships of war which now lie off the city, was successfully launched. The overjoyed Sultan, quite forgetting his gravity, laughed and shouted and clapped his hands like a child, and with his own hand fastened a medal of gold set with diamonds, on the lappel of the mechanic's coarse coat. His honored appointment terminated only with the life of his patron.

Mahmoud II. died in 1839, lamented as a sovereign of intelligent and energetic, though sometimes of irascible and severe spirit. His successor was Abdul Mejid, a young man of about twenty years, of effeminate and gentle character, yet thoroughly imbued with the enlarged and liberal views of his father; and exhibiting often, when it is called for, his father's energy and firmness. On the 3d of November, 1839, a novel scene, and one full of promise for the cause of progress was witnessed in the Plain of Roses at Constantinople. Amid an immense assembly of officers and people, Reschid Pacha, who had visited London as the agent of reform, read to the multitude a *Hetti Sherif* or royal proclamation, in which a constitution, a parliament and equality to all classes were pledged. Prominent among its topics of promise was the following: "Inasmuch as to realize the object of my desire, it is necessary to cause ignorance to cease, to do which is a source of merit both in this and the future life, the first care incumbent on you will be to organize public instruction, and to found everywhere that it is necessary, schools to diffuse instruction and to propagate light. The ministers must occupy themselves immediately on this point; as soon as possible, with zeal and perseverance, they must apply themselves to the erection of other establishments of public utility of the same nature, of which the necessity may become evident, and must address to me from time to time reports on the subject. May the Most High God grant us his assistance, and facilitate the realization of our plans."

Under Abdul Mejid the naval school at Halki, one of the

Prince's Islands in the Sea of Marmora, has been extended by the erection of a new marble building capable of accommodating two hundred or three hundred pupils. The school was in 1840, under the charge of a Spanish Jew; and arithmetic, geography, astronomy, navigation and the English language, were taught, although the spherical figure of the earth was not asserted. The military school near Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, was under the charge of an old Turk; and the elements of mathematics, as applied to military engineering, and the French language, were the chief studies. The medical school at Galeta, another suburb of Constantinople, was under an Austrian physician; and geography, astronomy, the French, Latin and German languages, as well as medical science, were studied. In the common schools the Lancasterian system was to some extent introduced; and the education of girls began to receive increased attention.

According to the official almanac of the Turkish empire for the year A. H. 1286, or A. D. 1852, these schools appear to be yet flourishing; but although many of the instructors are foreigners and Christians, their names are carefully omitted, while those of the Muhammedan subordinate teachers are given. As an indication of the practical difficulty among the Turks of securing a general diffusion of knowledge, it may be noted that among the small number of *thirty-one* periodicals published in the whole Turkish empire, only *three* are in the Turkish language; two of which are the official journals of Constantinople and Cairo, and the third is a medical bulletin issued at Constantinople.

Mingled emotions rest with their impressions on the thoughtful student's mind as he turns away from this survey of the educational systems of Turkey. In the long, *patient application* of Turkish scholars, so much in contrast with the American school-boy's hasty rush into active life; in the thorough mastery of *language*, a branch of education so indispensable to the numerous candidates for public speaking among us; in the decidedly and almost exclusively *religious* character of education, which makes the sacred volume the chief text-book, so unlike to the spirit of our land which seeks to exchange God's Word for that of man alone, and in that enlightened policy which endows *scholarships* as well as professorships, the Oriental is to us an example and instructor worthy to be copied. In his want of practical progress, in his neglect of science, in his religious exclusiveness which refuses examination and discards knowledge derived from another than his own sect, the Turk has long been untrue to the world of progress, and most untrue to himself. But the

leaven of reform is thoroughly mingled in this long stagnant portion of humanity; and though a long and dark night may pass while it ferments to its finished rise, the morning will at length dawn and the whole mass will be seen to be leavened.

QÆSITOR.

ART. III.—HOPE FOR OUR COUNTRY.

A Gazetteer of the United States of America, to which are added valuable statistical tables, and a Map of the United States. By JOHN HAYWARD. Hartford: Case, Tiffany & Co. 1853.

The American Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge. Boston: Little & Brown. 1852.

It is not with a view of entering into a specific discussion of the works placed at the head of this article, that they have been introduced in this place. For such a task, we feel no peculiar vocation; nor are we sure that our readers would care to follow us in such an effort. We have set their title down in this connection, because they furnish the facts and figures which illustrate in so unmistakable a manner, the intellectual, moral and religious progress of our country, and afford the surest ground of hope for its future prosperity and greatness.

We hear much at the present time, of danger to our country; of disasters which are threatening it; and by many, the future is painted in dark and dismal colors. That there are dangers, we would neither doubt nor fail to perceive; that its prosperity and welfare are threatened, we have no disposition to deny. There is danger, danger from the foreign element that is thrown among us; from the spirit of demagogism; from the agitation connected with slavery; from national deterioration and effeminacy; from the many forms of error, irreligion and sin which exist among us; and did we not trust in something more substantial and effective than human wisdom and excellence, we should despair in reference to our country's future. But there is a God. He has purposes; and to a certain extent, those purposes are revealed in his word and indicated in his providence. From these we derive encouragement and hope. Believing then, in the sovereign rule of Jehovah and in his gracious purposes toward man and the world, and keeping in mind what He has already done

for us as a people, we will trust Him still—trust Him for ourselves and for our country.

We proceed to notice some of the grounds of hope in reference to the future destiny of this country. The first of these grounds is found in the character of our political institutions. These are founded upon and grow out of great and vital truths; truths as immutable and imperishable as the government of the Eternal; truths having interlinked with and breathed through them, the omnipotent energy of God himself. Amid all the errors and falsehoods that have blinded and corrupted this world, or that may still do so, these truths will arise and vindicate themselves; they can not be rendered inoperative in their influence upon the affairs of mankind. These are the truths, and self-evident in their nature, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed." Here is, under God, the basis of our political system. Upon it was fought the war of the Revolution; out of it grew our national and state constitutions; under its influence have grown up, and by it have been molded our civil institutions. Where is the nation, past or present, of any note, or the country of any extent, where these truths have been intelligently recognized, and where these principles have borne sway? Here is not only a recognition of the rights of man, but of those rights as derived from God and sanctioned by the divine government. It is a Christian recognition of these great truths; of these truths as linked to the imperishable throne of Jehovah. No nation of the past furnishes a parallel to our own in its political institutions and character, by which we may judge of our future. In the inherent strength, then, of our institutions, founded upon and growing out of such a basis, is one ground of our hope of a prosperous future to our country. They have shown that they have strength; they have already passed through fiery ordeals; they promise permanence in reference to the future. Were they merely artificial arrangements, the offspring of circumstances, throwing society into unnatural forms and putting upon it unnatural constraints, we might well doubt their stability. In their naturalness and the strength of the principles out of which they grow, we have confidence in reference to the future.

Another ground of hope for our country, is the freedom and general diffusion of knowledge. Virtue is indispensable to the prosperity of any people or to the permanency of their in-

stitutions, and knowledge is indispensable to the existence of virtue. Men must know their duties in order to do them. Of these facts our fathers were aware, and in view of them they sought to frame our institutions. Hence, they made early and large provision for schools and general education, so that our country has become emphatically the land of schools. Our public and free schools are its pride and glory. No citizen, no child, need be uneducated, and that any should grow up without education, involves a gross neglect on the part of parents and guardians, as also on the part of the child himself. With the means that are furnished and the stimulants to an education that exist among us, few children will grow up wholly uneducated. The school unfolds its attractions, and extends wide its influence. In addition to our free and public schools, are numerous private schools; while academies are springing up in almost every village, and there are already in the United States one hundred and twenty colleges, and ninety-six law, medical, and theological schools. The school funds of all the States amount to \$20,456,605, yielding an annual income at six per cent., of \$1,227,396. But this income is only a small part of what is annually expended for education. To the schools, are to be added, as means for the diffusion of general knowledge, our public libraries, numerous courses of public lectures, and the abundant facilities for obtaining books, periodicals and general reading. In the midst thus of the schools, books, and newspapers of our country, it is hardly possible to remain in ignorance and wholly uneducated.

We hope much from our schools in *Americanizing* the multitudes of foreigners that are coming among us. In these schools their children are gathered; they there mingle with native-born children, learn our language, read our books. And it is to be remembered that the literature of the English language is a Protestant literature, and throughout that portion of it which is American, and which finds a place in our schools, is infused the spirit of liberty and our institutions. These children are thus brought directly under Americanizing influences, and are made familiar with our institutions and learn to prize them. We do not wonder that Archbishop Hughes dreads the influence of *American free schools*. Upon his own admission, some ninety per cent. of the children of Catholics that attend these schools, are lost to the Roman church. Not that any direct effort is made in these schools to convert them to Protestantism, but the schools are in themselves, a most effective agency against the superstition and despotism of Catholicism. Let then, foreigners come among

us, and at the rate of thirty thousand per month, and yet we will not be dismayed or cease to hope for our country. In free schools and the general diffusion of knowledge, they shall feel the influence of a mighty agency, conforming them to our institutions and preparing them to fill their places as true and worthy citizens.

Again, we have hope for our country, in the freedom of thought, of discussion, and of the press. Here men may think; think without fear; think freely, widely, deeply; think individually and independently; think upon all subjects and in reference to all interests. Our systems of education and the freedom of our institutions, tend to free, manly thought; they stimulate to investigation and inquiry. No iron system, either political or ecclesiastical, curbs and confines the mind to given subjects and a restricted channel. It is not swathed and nursed by any species of despotism, but taught and encouraged to act freely and naturally. But men may not only *think*; they may *speak* as they think. No secret police stands by to take down what they say, and report it in the ear of despotism. The subject thought upon may be talked about, whether it pertain to science, politics, morals, or religion. The thought having been spoken, may be discussed; the opinions uttered may be criticised, their correctness questioned, denied, and thus through discussion, truth be brought out and developed. But men may also *write* and *print* their thoughts, even in the *newspaper*, and scatter them broad-cast over the land, subjected only to the restriction which protects personal reputation and character. Every measure of government may thus be freely brought to the test of public scrutiny and investigation; every institution and movement in society may be opened and exposed to public examination. Over no press is lifted the rod of the public censor; no official can enter the office of the editor and lead him off to prison for the publication of his opinions. Liberty is indissolubly united to freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press. With such freedom, there may be extravagance, even licentiousness, but it is far less to be dreaded than restricted speech and a muzzled press. In this freedom is one ground of hope for our country.

Another ground of hope for our country, is the patriotism of the masses. The *people* are lovers of their country, her institutions, and her liberties. In *their hearts*, patriotism finds a sure and permanent home; and with the *people* under God is the controlling power. Political leaders may be more or less selfish, intriguing, and corrupt; demagogues may for a time deceive, sway, and lead astray the masses,

but they will ultimately take their "sober second thought," and call to a strict and searching account, the men that have deceived them. We do not believe it possible for *either* or *any* political party, for a long time to hold the ascendancy, in the prosecution of measures clearly opposed to the true interests of the country, and hostile to genuine patriotism. The people, in their love of country, will desert such a party, and leave it to be overthrown and destroyed. *They* mean *well*, whatever politicians may mean and seek, and their sound common sense and hearty patriotism, will sooner or later bring them *right* on every great question of national policy and interest. We do not believe the country has outlived its patriotism, nor that it has passed its golden age. There is less sectional jealousy and collision, less bitterness of party feeling, and more love to the Union and republican principles and institutions, than there was immediately succeeding the Revolution, and during the administrations of Washington and the elder Adams. Then, there was in many portions of the country a warm and strong English or Tory feeling; many even of our ablest men were in doubt as to the feasibility and efficiency of a republican form of government; and hence all public measures were viewed with more or less of distrust and jealousy. The debates in the Federal Convention, for the formation of the Constitution, were frequently heated, personal and bitter, especially so upon the subject of slavery; quite as much so as any that have occurred in our halls of state since. At one time the subject seemed to all but preclude the hope of reaching a harmonious conclusion. Debates none the less personal and bitter occurred, and sometimes upon this very subject, in the first and second congress. The *slavery agitation* is not a thing that has had its origin in these our times. It has been coexistent with our government; and will *continue*, in spite of all clauses of the constitution, and all the compromises of our legislators, until either slavery or liberty in our country is dead. It is in human nature that it should be thus; it is thus in the very constitution of things. As well may legislators undertake to confine the internal fires of Vesuvius, or hold in perpetual calm the restless waves of the ocean, as to prevent this agitation. It can no more be bound than can the impulses of our nature, or the soul itself. *Let us not be alarmed by it.* It did not prevent the formation of our government; it has not destroyed that government; nor do we believe it will. In this agitation some may become extravagant, heated, wild, fanatical; it has been thus; it will be thus; but the *masses*, upon whose good sense, patriotism

and virtue we rely, will not become thus; they never have become thus.

We said that *party spirit* is no worse now than in the early days of our national existence: we believe it is not as bad. As an illustration of what it was then, we cite what was said of Washington as he retired from the Presidency: "If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation was deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct, then, be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning, that no man may be an idol. Let the history of the federal government instruct mankind, that the mask of patriotism may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people."* This was contained in a leading paper of the party opposed to Washington's administration. The present day will hardly exhibit a *sadder* specimen of partisan hostility and virulence. We have but recently passed an *important election*; one which has changed the principal officers of the national government, and has also been attended with a change in the supremacy of party; but it passed off quietly; no outbreaks, no disturbance of the public peace, little of party bitterness and virulence; and all has again settled down calmly. Have we not good ground for confidence in the patriotism and good sense of the masses?

Another ground of hope for our country is in the freedom of religion. All Christianity asks in her conflict with error and irreligion, is an open field and a fair fight. She distrusts not her own inherent energy and power, as adequate to the contest. She asks to be bolstered up by no governmental props; she demands to be free from all civil restrictions. The greatest and only benefit the State can render her, is to leave her to herself; to her own free operation and influence. This protection, and this only, does she ask, that she may be permitted to act without restriction and without interference. She is ready to meet error in every form; she is prepared to combat unbelief and irreligion of every grade and character. In this land *she has her freedom*. The State leaves her to her own native power and influence, and restrains her by no legislative enactments. Every man is at liberty to worship God as his own conscience dictates, or not to worship him at all, provided he does not interfere with the rights and privileges of his neighbor, nor seek to corrupt the public

* See Hildreth's Hist. United States, vol. iv., p. 696.

morals. No hoary and enervated system, claiming superiority over, and upheld by the state, demands our confidence, conformity, and obedience; no one form of theological doctrine and church organization, is enforced upon our regard by the civil arm. All religious systems and organizations are brought upon a level, and each made to trust for its support and progress upon its own truthfulness and power. In this country, then, is such a field for the influence and action of genuine, spiritual Christianity, as no other country presents. Here, too, we believe, the great battles between truth and error, between faith and infidelity, between spirituality and formality, are to be fought. Here is a natural and appropriate field. Already are the elements of that contest gathering, and the advance corps of the belligerent forces are already in collision. We shrink not from the contest; we do not fear the result. Christianity has been, and always will be, the gainer by such conflicts. What, then, though Romanism is pouring in upon us the victims of its superstitions by the hundred thousand annually! This constitutes no increase or augmentation of Romanism. They are only transferred from countries exclusively Romish, to this, where the prospect of their conversion to spiritual Christianity is vastly increased. Though it increases the number of Romanists here, it results in an actual loss to Romanism. In proof of this let us look at statistics a moment. "The Annals of the Faith," the great Roman Catholic book for the details and statistics of the Roman church, gives the sum total of the Catholics in the United States at 1,663,500. In a note, however, it states that the real total far exceeds that amount, and that the Roman Catholic population of the United States is generally estimated at 2,000,000. The American Almanac for 1852 gives the number of Catholics at 1,233,350. Now it is estimated that there are in the United States 3,000,000 of born Irish, and 4,500,000 of the descendants of the Irish, making in all 7,500,000 Irish—1,000,000 more than are now supposed to be in Ireland. A letter from a Romish priest in New Orleans to the priests of Ireland, dated February, 1852, says, "That considering the number who came over, there ought to be 3,970,000 Roman Catholics in the United States, whereas there are only 1,980,000." There has been therefore, according to his admission, a loss to the Roman church, of nearly 2,000,000. Of the 7,500,000 Irish and their descendants in this country, the Roman church can only number less than 2,000,000. To the 7,500,000 Irish and their descendants, we are to add the hundreds of thousands of

Catholic Germans, French, Swiss, Italians, &c., and their descendants, who have immigrated to this country; and yet, from all sources, the Roman church is not able to number over 2,000,000, and her own statistics place it even lower. Here then is shown an *immense* loss to *Romanism* through immigration. She has met here a free Christianity, free institutions, free schools, and a free press; and her darkness and despotism have not been able to withstand the shock. She is the very essence of despotism, and has nothing in harmony with democratic principles and a free Christianity. We believe these under God will prove too strong for her; that this is not a soil upon which she can ultimately prosper and triumph. She is out of her place in a free country, with a free religion. Her converts from the ranks of Protestantism are notoriously few, and mostly from the Puseyite portion of the Episcopal clergy. She may boast of her strength, and use great swelling words, as she is accustomed to do; she may talk of the "Decline of Protestantism;" she may threaten even;* but she does not *alarm* us. What are 2,000,000 of Catholics among the more than 23,000,000 inhabitants of our country! She may crowd our cities with her splendid churches and cathedrals, build her nunneries and colleges; we will array against her a free pulpit, a free press, free schools; we will circulate Bibles, tracts; send

* The following is from the Freeman's Journal, of New York, and indorsed by other Catholic papers in this country:—"England is mad, and there are tens of millions who pray for her speedy destruction. * * * Oh, it is time for Europe to feel that England is no longer humane. She is possessed bodily by the devil; and as she insanely rages against everything good and holy, so, in the name of God and man, it is a duty the world owes, to put her down. Whoever among the princes of Europe will make war upon England, may be sure of the prayers of millions of Catholics for his success, and of aid in money or in men from millions of Irish blood throughout the world. If Louis Napoleon wishes to rule in the hearts of another nation, as he rules over the minds and bodies of the French, let him strike a bold blow at the very heart of England, and the Irish throughout the world will bless him. * * * If France does not furnish him with money enough, the contributions they will raise in the United States, and wherever else they are, will fill his coffers. Let him, then, in return for all the plottings of England against the peace of Europe, strike her a blow that will strike her to the dust. But if not so, Irishmen learn in America to bide their time. Year by year, the United States and England touch each other more and more nearly on the seas. Year by year the Irish are becoming more and more powerful in America. At length the propitious time will come; some accidental, sudden collision, and a Presidential campaign close at hand. *We will use, then, the very profligacy of our politicians for our purposes.* They will want to buy the Irish vote, and we will tell them how they can buy it in a lump from Maine to California; by declaring war on Great Britain, and wiping off at the same time the stains of concessions and dishonors that our Websters, and men of his kind, have permitted to be heaped upon the American flag by the insolence of British agents."

forth colporteurs and missionaries, and not fear the result. If American Christians do their duty we *need* not fear.

With superstition, we have not a little *infidelity* imported to our shores from foreign lands, especially among our German immigrants. But here it meets a free and spiritual Christianity, and, beneath its influence and power, must quail. Truth is stronger than error. There is far less to be dreaded from open and avowed unbelief, than from a false and Jesuitical Christianity.

Another ground of hope for our country, is the advancing moral and religious condition of the world. We believe things are tending to the fulfillment of the inspired declaration, that "all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the earth shall worship before thee." We are not of the class that can see nothing good and promising but in the *past*; nothing in the *future* but darkness and ruin; and who are continually descanting upon the *degeneracy* of the *present*. The present is indeed bad enough; it has its multiplied and fearful ills and corruptions; but it is not worse than the past. We do not believe either the world or the church has yet seen its golden age. Never was the moral and spiritual condition of the world so promising as at the present. Never was moral and religious light so widely spread; never were the means for spreading it so abundant and active; never were the agencies of the kingdom of God brought to bear upon the world so widely and with the force they are now; nor do we believe there was ever in the world so much enlightened and spiritual Christianity as now. The leaven of the kingdom of God is augmented to a degree and acting with a power beyond any former period. The moral and religious agencies and instrumentalities that have been preparing and acting in the last half-century, must continue to act with increased force, in time to come. A large proportion of Christian effort for the welfare of the world, made during that time, has been *preparatory* work—that of getting ready religious agencies, that shall act in the future. Such has been the work of planting missions in destitute lands; the translation and publication of the Scriptures and religious books in the languages of the nations; the arousing of Christians and philanthropists to the work of a world's emancipation from sin and moral degradation. The world is only beginning to feel the effect of these agencies. Their power will be augmented with every passing year. On every side we see commercial enterprise and extending civilization blending with, and forming channels through which these agencies may act.

Every railroad and every steam-ship is ministering to this work. The nations are being brought in closer contact with each other; a feeling of brotherhood is spreading among them; and the facilities for extending the knowledge of the Gospel and evangelizing the world, are thus constantly being increased. In this work the Anglo-Saxon race and the English language are taking a leading part. We think then we do not *misinterpret* the indications of Providence, viewed in connection with the teachings of the Scriptures, when we express our conviction that God has great designs of good to our country, in the relation which it sustains to the progress and evangelization of the world. We believe it is to be made a great and honored instrument in the hand of God, and for the fulfillment of his purposes, in the promotion of the present and eternal well-being of mankind. There is then hope for our country—hope for its future.

But in all this we do not mean to say there are not dangers. There are many and great; and we would inspire no incautious, indolent, presumptuous confidence. National prosperity, though the gift of God, comes only in the use of the appropriate means to secure it. Let us be thankful to God that he has given us such a country; that he has done for us such great and wondrous things; and trusting Him still, let each strive by virtue, patriotism, and piety, to make the future of our country all we may wish and hope it to be. Above all, let it be commended to God in earnest and unceasing prayer. If American citizens, and especially American Christians, but do their duty, our country is safe. May we never then forget, never prove unfaithful to the land we call our own.

“ Our country—’tis a glorious land !

With broad arms stretched from shore to shore,

The proud Pacific chafes her strand,

She hears the dark Atlantic’s roar ;

And, nurtured on her ample breast,

How many a goodly prospect lies

In nature’s wildest grandeur drest,

Enameled with her loveliest dyes.

Great God ! we thank thee for this home ;

This bounteous birth-land of the free ;

Where wanderers from afar may come,

And breathe the air of liberty !—

Still may her flowers untrampled spring,

Her harvests wave, her cities rise ;

And yet, till Time shall fold his wing,

Remain earth’s loveliest paradise.”

ART. IV.—THE KING AND THE PREACHER.*

The Preacher and the King; or, Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV. Being an account of the Pulpit Eloquence of that Distinguished Era. Translated from the French of L. Bungener. Paris, 12th Edition. With an Introduction, by the Rev. GEORGE POTTS, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853.

Œuvres de Bourdaloue. Chez Lefevre, Libraire Editeur. Tom. 1—III. A Paris, 1834.

WHEN that noble Protestant woman, Jeanne d'Albret, was about to retire to her estates in Bearn, from a court which had witnessed the apostasy of her husband Antoine de Bourbon, she embraced with tender affection, her young son Henry, and weeping over him with a Christian mother's solicitude, entreated him never to desert the faith in which he had been nurtured. But the Prince of Navarre forgot that mother's tears and the appeals of that touching adieu, went over to the ranks of the enemies of his mother and his mother's God; and falling, at last, by the hand of an assassin from that very party to which he had surrendered his early faith, bequeathed to France the horrors of papal intolerance. Had Henry IV. possessed the inflexible piety of his sister, Catharine of Navarre, the last witness to the truth in the Bourbon line, France might have rivaled, perhaps surpassed England in the glory of her destiny, and become the bulwark of Protestant freedom.

A few years before his marriage, in 1572, one-fourth of the population of France, and that the noblest and the purest, had become Protestant; and although reduced by the massacre of Vassy, in 1562, and the more horrid butchery of Saint Bartholomew, they were still powerful. They had proved their valor on the field of battle, and their constancy amid the seductions of the court; and nothing was wanting but the judicious and temperate measures of a wise ruler to lead the nation, fully and forever, from the house of papal bondage. They would have followed the white plume of Navarre to glory and honor. But the hour of deliverance was slighted. The monarch, overcome by the threats

* The reason why *the King* is put first will be seen in the sequel.

and blandishments of the papal party, abjured his religion ; and France entered upon that career of folly and crime, which, after long years of suffering and shame, was to make her the basest of kingdoms.*

The abjuration of Henry committed France to the barbarous policy of the imperious and profligate Catherine de Medici, the despotism of Richelieu, the craft of Mazarin, and the absolutism and bigotry of Louis XIV. It imposed on her the heavy burden of the religion of Rome, the Machiavelianism, luxury and licentiousness of Italy, and the civil wars of Spain. It is true that Henry, prompted by the magnanimity which he inherited from his mother, and mindful of the debt of gratitude which he owed to those companions in arms, who had stood by him amid the trials and reverses of his youth, endeavored to protect them in their fidelity to the faith which he had denied, by extending to them the guaranties of a solemn legal covenant in the Edict of Nantes. But it is well known that this measure of justice and humanity was unacceptable to the papal party. Pope Clement VIII. remonstrated against it, and several parliaments opposed its registration. Louis XIII., his immediate successor, found it too stringent for the impulses of his Catholic zeal ; and there were not wanting Jesuitical advisers to intimate that its provisions were not binding. They insinuated a refined distinction between the conscience of the monarch, and the conscience of the good Catholic. Amid the various expedients which were employed for the extirpation of Protestantism, it is not surprising that many of its adherents succumbed : the only wonder is that any vestige of it remained. Power and cunning, menaces and bribes, violence and seduction, combined for its overthrow. Catharine ranged through the provinces with her ladies of honor—her flying squadron, as they were called—and many an intrepid soldier, whom the storm of battle had never bowed, yielded to the arts of her Moabitish women. Apostasy became the highway to distinction. Protestants passed over to the church of Rome, to arrive at the antechambers of the court. Mary de Medici, her successor, was ignorant, super-

* Prosper de St. Croix, in 1562, declared France to be semi-protestant, and on the eve of a total change of religion. Charles Coquerel, *Hist. des Eglises du Désert*, i., p. 4. Paris, 1841. With respect to the massacre which stained the marriage festival of Henry, there has been great uniformity of opinion. Dr. Lingard, however, has attempted to extenuate its guilt. His inaccuracy has been exposed by Dr. Allen, in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 87. Bossuet expresses his reprobation in strong terms. *Histoire de Bossuet*, par Cardinal de Bausset, i., p. 323. Versailles, 1819.

stitious and vindictive; divided between gallantry and devotion; possessed of all the vices of ambition, with none of its redeeming qualities. During her regency, from 1610 to 1614, the retinue of the court was increased by fresh conscripts from the Huguenots, who were won by the fascinations of royalty and the easy gayeties of its dependants.*

Louis XIII., guided by the imperial genius of Richelieu, threw off the mask, and boldly assailed the independence of the Huguenot towns. That haughty minister, the very impersonation of despotism, had humbled the nobles, and subjugated the commons. The independence of the Protestant free towns presented the only remaining obstacle to the achievement of absolute power. That removed, royalty would stand supreme and unchallenged. The genius of Richelieu triumphed; and in 1628, the independence of Protestantism was buried under the demolished ramparts of Rochelle, a place rich with the proudest historical associations, within whose walls Conde, Coligny, Jeanne d'Albret, and Henry of Navarre in his brighter and better days, had found shelter; a place odious to priests and tyrants, as the ancient abode of piety and the last intrenchment of liberty.

Louis XIII. and his minister Richelieu died in 1643. Louis XIV. ascended the throne, under the regency of his mother, Anne of Austria, sister of Philip IV. of Spain. The mistress and afterward the wife of Cardinal Mazarin, she did not deem the former relation incompatible with devotion to Papacy, nor did she suffer the ill treatment which she received in the latter, to abate her zeal in its behalf. Her piety was of the genuine Spanish type of popish bigotry; and the only evidence which she gave of her maternal affection, is to be found in the efforts which she made to inspire her son with her own sentiments. It is to this son, that Bunge's work introduces us.

The design of the author seems to have been to give a dramatic representation of the Court of the Grand Monarque, with special reference to the subject of pulpit eloquence. The criticisms which he interweaves with the dialogue, and the remarks with which he explains or enforces them, are in general, judicious, sometimes original, always interesting. The translation—if we may judge without having seen the original—is well executed; and the observations of Dr. Potts, notwithstanding some inaccuracies, form an appropriate introduction to the work. Its mechanical execution is such as

* *Memoires du Marquis de La Fare*, chap. ii., p. 143.

might have been expected from the reputation of the publishers. There are, however, some typographical errors which ought to have been avoided. In the note, page 79, *Bossuet* occurs instead of *Bausset*; and on page 327, the well known pun upon the name of the Bishop of Meaux, *Bos suetus aratro*, is transformed into *Bos suetus oratio*.

The court of Louis XIV. has long since been stripped of the deceitful splendor with which it was invested by the flattery of courtiers and the partiality of historians. The extravagant praises of his contemporaries excite only our surprise that they had the folly to utter them, or found others credulous enough to believe them. The various memoirs and correspondences which have issued from the press of France, with reference to the reign of this sovereign, have dispelled the illusion. They have let us in behind the scenes, and permitted us to behold the vulgarity and misery which lay concealed behind its gay and gorgeous exterior. The court of Louis reminds us of those Egyptian temples, which, under azure domes and gilded frontispieces, inclosed nothing but the images of apes, rats and crocodiles.*

At the entrance of Ferdinand VII. into Seville, the rabble saluted him with the cry, "God save the dissolute [meaning the absolute] King."† Both of these titles are applicable to Louis XIV. His long reign of seventy-two years may be divided into the reign of mistresses, and the reign of priests; and during the whole of it, he claimed and exercised absolute power.

The education of the young monarch had been neglected. Even in religion, he was grossly ignorant. Bossuet said of him, in after life, that he had nothing but the faith of a collier—a proverbial saying expressive of a blind and implicit faith.‡ But, perhaps, the most unexceptionable evidence, if we exclude his own acts, is to be found in the correspondence of the Princess Palatine, second wife of the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the king. She says: "No one

* Besides other works on the history of France, during the long reign of Louis XIV., we have the elaborate collection by Petitot and his associates, in 78 vols. In the remarks which we are about to submit to our readers, we shall make a free use of the historical documents to which we have referred, and while we shall be careful to make no statement which is not sustained by their authority, we do not think it necessary to encumber our pages with a multitude of references. † In citing the works which are found in the collection of Petitot, we have given his paging.

† Viva el Rey disoluto (pues no saben distinguir esta palabra de la de absoluto. De Letamendi, *Notas Historicas*. Chap. xvii., p. 76.

‡ *Considerations sur Louis XIV.*, *Œuvres de Louis XIV.*, i., p. 87. Duclos, *Regne de Louis XIV.* *Œuvres*, iii., p. 56. Paris, 1821.

could be more ignorant than the king, on the matter of religion. I can not understand how his mother suffered him to be brought up in such ignorance. He believes everything that the priests tell him, as if it came from God himself."* Bred in ignorance and superstition, he surrendered himself, during the hours that were withdrawn from the pursuits of ambition, to the alternate sway of lust and devotion; was as punctilious in his attendance at mass as at the apartments of his mistresses; and sought to atone for his habitual irregularities, by occasional fits of extraordinary sanctity. The semblance of propriety which he affected, even in his most dissolute days, would be ludicrous, were it not disgusting. Indulgent to his own frailties, he made a virtue of his severity to the frailty of others. Like his friend and counselor, Harly, Archbishop of Paris, he claimed a kind of monopoly in vice. This dignified ecclesiastic refused the rites of Christian burial to Molière, because he was attached to the theater; but died himself in the arms of his mistress. Louis was nearly as absolute and exclusive in the practice of vice, as in the assertion of his royal prerogative. The seducer of Vallière interposed his authority to check the career of profligate young men; the lover of Montespan, who shut up her husband in the Bastile, and afterward drove him into exile, because he resented the gallantries of the king, proffered his advice for the adjustment of conjugal differences. In short, Louis set his face like a flint against immorality; watched, with the sternness of a Cato, over the purity of his court; and allowed no man in the kingdom to commit adultery but himself. By the complaisance of interested confessors, his conscience was permitted to slumber. If an occasional paroxysm disturbed his repose, it was quickly allayed by an appeal to the regularity of his devotions; for, as we are assured by Madame de Caylus, he never missed hearing mass except on two occasions, and then he was immersed in military affairs.† He thus passed quietly from the embrace of one mistress to another, and even indulged an Asiatic taste in having several at the same time. Reveling amid the splendors of his magnificent seraglio, he heaped up sins, which were to be expiated, in his remorseful old age, by the tears and blood of the Huguenots. His lust and his piety were alike preparing the way for the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

* *Memoires de Madame Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orleans, Mère du Regent, &c.*, p. 36. Paris, 1823. *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1825. p. 293.

† *Souvenirs de M. de Caylus*, p. 37.

The chief calamities which attended the reign of Louis, and blasted his fame, are to be ascribed to the ascendancy which the Jesuits acquired over his conscience. This crafty and unscrupulous society, whose portrait has been drawn by one who was a sagacious observer of their conduct in France,* evinced there the same spirit of intrigue, which has made them the disturbers of the public peace, and the same accommodating casuistry which has made them the enemies of public virtue, in every country in which they have been permitted to gain a foothold. Their tortuous and slippery policy, insinuated through the confessional, and enforced by their other devices, curbed the bright career of the French monarch, cost the Stuarts of Great Britain their hereditary crown, and overturned the throne of Louis Philippe; and it may yet wrest the imperial scepter from their despicable tool, Napoleon II.

The king chose his confessors from the Society: he imposed Jesuit confessors upon the members of his royal household. In not a few instances, as was the case with the Duchess of Burgundy—Louisa Maria, the daughter of James II.—and the Queen of Spain, first wife of Philip V.—their victims repudiated them, at the hour of death; and sought from less polluted sources, the counsels and consolations demanded by that solemn hour; thus illustrating the remark of the first president Harly, who, at an audience which he gave to certain Jesuits and priests of the Oratory, said to the former, "One would wish to live with you;" and, turning to the latter, "to die with you."† But the confidence of the king was unbounded. He was caught with their guile. Slowly and cautiously, they encompassed him with their toils, relaxing the tension when the turbulence of his passions threatened to snap them, but determined that he should not escape, assured that once fairly bound, he might be led captive at their will; and made the instrument of their cherished purpose of extirpating heresy from the kingdom. Hence their subserviency to his caprices, and their excessive laudation of him, as the "most Christian prince," at the very time that his wife and his two mistresses, Valliere and Montespan, were publicly pointed at as "the three Queens," and his adulteries were topics of common remark. In this, Bourdaloue, as we shall presently see, was Jesuit enough to participate.

* *Memoires de Duc de Saint Simon*, iii., p. 230—265. Paris, 1818.

† *Duclos, Regne de Louis XIV.*, *Œuvres*, iii., p. 26.

The love of display, which was one of the ruling passions of Louis, induced him to add to the attractions of his court, the pomp and splendor of the Romish ceremonial. Eloquent preachers were summoned from every quarter of the kingdom, to grace the festivals of the church; and the highest orders thronged the chapels and cathedrals to witness their displays of oratory. These scenical representations relieved the tedium of Lent, and served as an excellent substitute for the shows of the theater. The spectators crowded to them as to a grand public spectacle. Had the ministers of religion done their duty, honestly and fearlessly, good might have been accomplished. But the best of them were bewildered and intimidated by the glare of royalty; and notwithstanding all the learning and eloquence of the pulpit, iniquity abounded. The leading men and women of the age of Louis XIV., were ignorant, irreligious and vulgar. The Princess Palatine declares that none of the royal family except her son, afterward regent, possessed the slightest taste for literature; some of them could scarcely read and write. Theatrical entertainments, operas, games of chance and gossip, formed their principal amusement, in fact, their most serious occupation. The monarch and his family were great feeders, and indulged in gluttony to the most disgusting excess.* Vice and devotion went hand in hand, through this singular masquerade. The Abbess de Fontevraud, sister of Montespan, was often at the palace, presenting the edifying spectacle of a nun's habit and crucifix gliding among the frail beauties that surrounded the marchioness.† Priests and confessors shared and abetted the general corruption: the papal nuncio lived in open profligacy. Some of them gloried in their shame. The Abbe de Soubise, more proud of the grandeur of his descent than sensitive to the honor of his mother, affected to be the natural son of Louis.‡ Poison was frequently employed to remove obnoxious persons. Several members of the royal family perished in this way; and antidotes were as indis-

* As our readers may have some curiosity to know what constituted the dinner of royalty, in those days, we transcribe the following extract from the pages of her Serene Highness. "I have often seen the king eat four plates of different soups, a whole pheasant, a partridge, a huge plate of salad, mutton and garlic, two good slices of ham, a plate of pastry, and fruit and sweetmeats after all." A good, royal dinner, whether for a peasant or a king.

† St. Simon, i., p. 97. Diary of the Marquis de Dangeau. Nov. 5, 1684. Translated by J. Davenport, London, 1825.

‡ Dangeau, i., pp. 299, 315, ii., 97. Duclos, 130, p. 85. Beaumelle, Vie de Maintenon, ii., p. 31. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, xxv., p. 398.

pensable to a medicine chest, as paregoric or rhubarb is, in our days. Crimes of a meaner kind were perpetrated. In the saloons of the king, the pockets of his guests were not altogether safe from the intrusion of unlawful fingers, for Dangeau records the fact that "a cavalry officer lost his purse in the drawing-room."* Madame de Maintenon, in a letter to the Princess Ursino, thus delineates the character of the ladies of the court: "The women of these times are insupportable to me. Their foolish and immodest attire, their tobacco, their wine, their gluttony, their coarseness, their idleness, all these are so utterly contrary to my taste, and, as I think to reason, that I can not endure them."† Fortunately for France, the inferior nobility were, to a considerable extent, untainted; and the corruption of the capital had not penetrated into the provinces.‡

Upon the death of Mazarin, in 1661, Louis, who had, hitherto, devoted little attention to the affairs of his kingdom, took the reins of government into his own hands. The crisis was peculiar. The power of Austria had been effectually curbed by the peace of Westphalia, 1648; and that of Spain, humbled by the peace of the Pyrenees, 1659. Louis aimed to occupy the position left vacant by the recession of those great powers and place France at the head of European affairs. In thus directing his attention to his kingdom, with a view to the development of its resources, he noticed particularly its religious condition. His subjects were divided. He conceived the design of uniting them in the bosom of the church of Rome. During the administration of the cardinal, the papal party made repeated efforts to extort from him measures of severity against the Huguenots; but they were repelled by that crafty minister, as much perhaps from the dictates of an enlightened policy as from the impulse of more generous sentiments. The king proved to be more pliable. The influences which may be supposed to have repressed his zeal up to this period, began to decline, and others of a different character, to assume the control of him. The year 1658, which signalized his alliance with the most bigoted court of Europe, by marrying Maria Theresa of Spain, terminated the career of Cromwell, whose menaces had arrested the persecution of the Protest-

* Diary, Jan. 18, 1687. Beaumelle, ii., 174. St. Simon, i., 30.

† *Lettres inédites de M^{me} de Maintenon et de M^{me} La Princesse des Ursino*, i., p. 138, Paris, 1826. The letter from which we have quoted, was written June 12, 1707. It seems that the dames of the court had not improved under her pious regimen.

‡ Bausset, *Hist. de Bossuet*, i., 32.

ants of Savoy. In 1660, the house of Stuart was restored to the throne of Great Britain, and Charles II. proclaimed king. Mademoiselle de Kerouaille, a French girl, who accompanied his sister Henrietta to the court of Saint James, whither she was sent by Louis to detach him from the triple league, was, to employ the courtly phrase of Dangeau, "honored with the friendship" of the king, and created Duchess of Portsmouth, in 1662. Her former connection with France, and her ascendancy at the English court, suggested her to Madame de Maintenon as a suitable instrument for the propagation of the faith in that heretic realm. Stimulated by the correspondence of that unscrupulous zealot, and persuaded, as Beaumelle says, "that her zeal in making Catholics would expiate the crime of being a very bad Christian," she united with the Duchess of York in kindling at Whitehall, the same rage for conversion that flamed at Fontainebleau. The piety of Louis grew apace. But he still remembered the steady loyalty of the Huguenots, during the civil wars of the Fronde—from 1649 to 1653—retained, perhaps, some feeling of gratitude for their services, and was reluctant to proceed to extremities. He revived the measures of seduction, which had proved so effectual in former years; measures which had erased from the roll of Protestantism the proud names of Bouillon, Châtillon, Rohan, Sully, Rochefoucault, Condé and Bourbon, and made those who inherited them his servile dependents and flatterers. Encouraged by the success of this insidious policy, but dissatisfied with its tardy operation, he resolved to adopt aggressive measures.* Inflated with the arrogance of power, indignant that any of his subjects should "profess a religion which displeased him," (we use the very words of his minister Louvois,) stung by the reproaches of his conscience, goaded by fanatical priests, and cheered on by the acclamations of the pulpit, he resolved upon the extirpation of heresy by force. The peace of Aix la Chapelle, 1668, and the peace of Nymegen, 1679, which his preachers ascribed to the blessing of Heaven vouchsafed to his piety, stimulated him to the prosecution of the great work. Marshal Turenne, the last of the Huguenot chiefs, abjured in 1669; and that year gave birth to the famous "Declaration of 1669"—the first of a series of attacks upon a portion of his subjects, whom he was bound by a solemn covenant to protect; who had rallied to the support of his throne, when it tottered beneath

* *Memoires de l'Abbe de Choisy*, Livre v., p. 284

the blows of the papal insurgents of the Fronde; who had shed over his kingdom the light of their genius, their learning and their piety, and given to the commonwealth of letters the names of Cameron, Amyrault, Basnage, Cappel, Dumoulin, Rivet, Bloudel, Bochart, Mestrezat, Drelincourt, Daillé, Ancillon, Claude and Jurieu.*

There is one individual, who acted so conspicuous a part in the events which we are about to narrate, that, although we have already referred to her, we must give her a more formal introduction. Madame de Maintenon was the granddaughter of one of the Huguenot chiefs, Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné, the companion and friend of Henry of Navarre. She was the child of poverty. Needy and dependent, she accepted the proposal of the celebrated Scarron to become his wife, influenced, as is most likely, less by affection than by the hope of obtaining a protector. At his decease, she was plunged again into poverty. Circumstances brought her to the knowledge of Madame de Montespan, and as she had a reputation for sprightliness and discretion, she was selected by the favorite of the monarch to superintend the education of her children. The widow Scarron seems to have felt ashamed of her position as governess of the king's bastards, and desired to withdraw; but her confessor, the Jesuit Gobelin, was reluctant to forego so tempting an opportunity to play his game, and he persuaded her that duty required the sacrifice. Louis was, at first, averse to her, as a blue and a prude, and avoided her society. Ambition, as she herself confessed, was her ruling passion, and she was willing to stoop, to conquer. She gradually insinuated herself into the confidence of the king, charmed him by her sprightly conversation, her ready and graceful compliance with his humors, and especially by her pious interest in his cherished enterprise for the extermination of heresy. Louis would have added her name to the list of his sultanas; but she was too wary for that. So he compromised the matter; and they were united by a secret marriage. The widow of a buffoon triumphed over the heart of the proudest monarch of Christendom. The reformation of the king was now complete. He was henceforth to be a good husband and a good Catholic. In 1685, he married Madame de Maintenon and revoked the edict of Nantes.

* The legislation of Louis XIV., in reference to the reformed, is given by Charles Coquerel, *Hist. des Eglises du Desert*, chap. ii. G. De Félice, *Hist. des Protestants de France*, Paris, 1850. Browning, *Hist. of the Huguenots*, chap. lix.

The day of that revocation is the darkest in the calendar of France.*

Louis was deceived. Affecting the seclusion of an Asiatic despot, and absorbed in the devotions and carousals of his magnificent palaces, he was ignorant of the real condition of his Protestant subjects, and was led to believe that most of them had abjured their religion, and that nothing remained to give the coup-de-grace to the Reformed, but the edict of revocation. He was deceived by Maintenon and her "goblin" confessor; by his own confessor, Père La Chaise—*une chaise de commodité*, as he was styled by Montespan, who was aware of his duplicity; by that polecat, Chancellor Le Tellier and his hopeful son, the butcher Louvois. These were the real authors of the revocation.† The clergy were in ecstasies; the pope hailed the triumph of the faith with a *Te Deum*, and a public illumination of three days; Louis himself was intoxicated with flattery.‡ But when he awoke from his delirium to behold the depopulation and decay of the fairest provinces of his kingdom, left vacant by the flight of two millions of his subjects, who carried with them the industry, the manufactures, and the arts of France, to enrich her enemies; thousands of the refugees in the armies and the fleets of the league of Augsburg, which his remorseless bigotry and despotism had provoked; William of Orange, whom he bitterly hated, seated upon the throne of England,§ and James II. a pensioner on his own bounty; his kingdom assailed, his very capital threatened, and the disasters of Blenheim, Ramillies and Malpaquet crowding thick upon him amid the curses of all Europe; above all, when he was reduced to the humiliating necessity of treating with a mis-

* The edict of revocation was sealed Oct. 18, 1685.

† The Count de Grammont, seeing Le Tellier retiring from the king's cabinet after a private audience, observed, "I picture to myself a polecat, who has just killed some fowls and is licking his bloody jaws." He affixed the seals of his office to the edict when he lay upon his dying bed, and gave vent to his joy in the language of Simeon, "Lord, now let thy servant depart," &c. Yet this man is the subject of one of Bossuet's elaborate funeral orations. Alas!

Not florid prose, nor honeyed lies of rhyme,
Can blazon evil deeds or consecrate a crime.

As to Louvois, it is sufficient to say that Racine took his portrait for the Haman of his *Esther*. Félice, pp. 390, 398.

‡ Dangeau, June 12, 1686. Beaumelle, iii., 25.

§ The animosity of Louis toward William originated in the refusal of the latter to marry Mademoiselle de Blois, daughter of his mistress Valliere. St. Simon, i., 66.

Manet alta mente repostum
Judicium Paridis, sprætaeque injuria formæ.

erable fragment of his Protestant subjects, the unconquered Camisards, he must have been astounded at the consequences of his insane and cruel tyranny.

The English Revolution of 1688 was the answer to the Revocation of 1685; and from that moment the star of Louis began to pale. And what was still more fatal to the power of the Bourbon race, his uncompromising absolutism awakened a reaction in favor of a free government, and suggested the speculations of Fenelon, Massillon and Rousseau, while his fierce bigotry exasperated the hostility of Voltaire and his infidel compeers, and both combined to hasten the saturnalia of the Revolution and the atrocities of the Reign of Terror,

When France got drunk with blood to vomit crime.

Pascal has noticed, and McCosh has traced with philosophic discrimination, what the latter denominates the attractive and repelling principle in human nature. There has never, perhaps, been a more striking illustration of their operation than in the reign of Louis XIV. After vibrating, for a long time, between devotion and profligacy, he was compelled by the Nemesis which his guilty conscience evoked, to decide for the former; but misled by his confessors, he took refuge in external rites and ceremonies. To a guilty conscience seeking repose, there is but one alternative—religion, or superstition; the cross of Christ, or the lying vanities of Rome. These rival systems—for Paganism is the same, in principle, with Popery—divide the empire of the soul; and their struggles in the individual and the race, constitute the substance of man's spiritual history.

The superstition of the age of Louis XIV. was the parent of the infidelity that followed it. Like Milton's portress at the gate of Hell, that foul goblin gave birth to the "yelling monsters" that kenneled in her womb, and preyed on her vitals. Rome is responsible for the Reign of Terror. The priests of atheism did only what the priests of superstition had taught them. The September Massacres were the counterpart of the atrocities of the revocation. The contrast, which has been remarked by Capefigue,* between the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, admits of a rational explanation. The superstition, the affected austerity and the hypocritical devotion of the court of Louis XIV. led, by a natural process, to the type of impiety

* Philippe d'Orleans, Pref. VII.

which distinguished the disciples of Voltaire and Rousseau ; in which the sneer of a Faust mingles with the ribaldry of a Don Juan.*

It is probable that Louis was unapprised of the extent of the calamities of which he was the author. The remonstrances of his subjects were not suffered to penetrate the barriers with which he had environed himself. Retired amid the frivolities and festivities of Versailles, he heard no murmur of discontent. His repose was undisturbed by the wail of woe that ascended from the burning plains of Languedoc, the mountain fastnesses of Vivarais and the Cévennes, and the prisons and galleys of Marseilles—the *suspiria de profundis* of the persecuted people of God.

We must step back a little to notice the parts which were played by the chief actors in this mournful tragedy. As early, at least, as 1677, the king attempted to bribe his Protestant subjects to abjure their faith; and Pellisson, a renegade Huguenot, was commissioned to distribute his bounty. As among the nobles, some generous spirits had been found who refused to bow the knee to the image of Baal, and preferred their independence and their honor to the privilege of holding the king's shirt, or putting on his slippers, the highest aspiration of his courtiers; so the middle class scorned his filthy lucre. But multitudes of poor wretches, ignorant, unprincipled, or famishing, caught at the gilded bait, and sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. Pellisson sent regularly to his master, and published in the gazettes lists of hundreds of converts. The king marveled; the prelates applauded; the Jesuits triumphed. But the new converts speedily relapsed. Louis detected the frauds of his agent; but he was unwilling to forego the advantages which they had secured, and therefore passed an ordinance punishing relapse with banishment and confiscation of goods. Strange conduct in a most Christian king, to bribe a man to lie, and punish him for relapsing into truth.†

These measures were only partially successful. Neither seduction nor bribery could reach the great body of the Huguenots. The genius of Louvois devised a more potent expedient—the dragoonade—unless, indeed, he took the hint

* McCosh, *Method of the Divine Government*, chap. ii., sec. 5. See a masterly discussion of the connection between superstition and skepticism, by one of the greatest thinkers of the age, in the Rev. Dr. Thornwell's work on the Apocrypha, Letter VI. This volume has been pronounced by the Edinburgh Review worthy to be placed by the side of Chillingworth.

† Félice, p. 381.

from the operations of Sir James Turner against the Covenanters of Scotland.* The main features of this infamous system may be exhibited to our readers by a single extract from the diary of Dangeau :

"The king resolved to send troops to M. de Savoie, to reduce to obedience the inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne, who would not consent to change their religion. His majesty has ordered six battalions, two regiments of dragoons, and one of cavalry, upon this service."

A formidable band of missionaries. Intrepid priests thus escorted, ventured into the disaffected provinces to preach the gospel of peace, exhorting their hearers (according to Beaumelle) to "taste and see that the Lord is gracious." This apostolic commission came down upon the Protestants like an army of locusts, consuming their substance, driving them from their homes, and polluting their wives and daughters. Under the pressure of such assaults, many a poor terror-stricken Huguenot accepted the mass, as the only means of protecting the purity of his family. Timid females fled to the Roman church as an asylum from violence. Abjurations such as these, wrung from their agonized and bewildered victims by the terror of death, or of a fate worse than death, were heralded to the king as so many victories of the faith.

A few excerpts from Dangeau will show how matters sped in the hands of the priests flanked by dragoons.

"1685, Sept. 1. We heard this evening that all the Huguenots of the town of Montauban had been converted by a deliberation held in the town-house.

"Sept. 27. The diocese of Embrun and Gap, and the valleys of Pragelas, have all been converted *without the interference of dragoons.*†

"Oct. 2. The king at his levee received the intelligence that all the town of Castres was converted.

"Oct. 5. We have learned that Montpellier and all the diocese, as well as Lunel, Maignio, Auguesmortes, are converted. The diocese of Nismes, the same.

"Oct. 7. The king at his levee told the nuncio that he had received intelligence that the whole town of Uzes had been converted, in imitation of Nismes and Montpellier; and that he had no doubt the pope would be highly gratified with the news."

Encouraged by such triumphs, dogged and worried by Le

* Hume, Hist. England, ii., p. 501. Phila., 1839.

† To appreciate the force of this assertion, it must be noticed that some places were converted by merely hearing of the exploits of these ruffians in a distant town. It is a wonder that Bourdaloue did not make a miracle out of these dragoons; for he affirms that St. Francis Xavier converted thousands of the Japanese, without being able to speak a syllable of their language.

Tellier, and stimulated to the work of piety by Maintenon and La Chaise, the king gradually reconciled his mind to that stupendous act of perfidy and cruelty, the revocation. The progress of his pious inclinations, up to this period, is indicated in the correspondence of Maintenon.

"The king is imbued with good sentiments; he sometimes reads the Scripture, and deems it the finest of all books. He confesses his weaknesses; he admits his faults. We must wait the operation of grace. He thinks seriously about the conversion of the heretics,* and in a short time that will be attended to in earnest." Letter to St. Geran, Oct. 28, 1679.

"If God spares the life of the king, in twenty years there will not be a single Huguenot." Letter to Villette, April 5, 1681.

About this time an event occurred which greatly quickened the monarch's zeal. He had formerly been forbidden the sacrament by La Chaise, in consequence of his connection with Montespan, but as he had now renounced her for Mademoiselle Fontanges, his confessor treated him with greater lenity, and admitted him to the holy rite, at Whitsuntide, in 1680; a consolation which the voluptuous and superstitious monarch requited by increased severity toward the Protestants. It was on this occasion that the witty marchioness, who could not appreciate the Jesuitical distinction between adultery and fornication as evidences of growth in grace, styled the wily confessor, *une chaise de commodité*.†

"The king begins to think seriously of his salvation, and of that of his subjects. [These two things always went together.] If God spares him, there will be only one religion in his kingdom. That is the sentiment of M. de Louvois; and I believe him more readily than M. Colbert, who thinks only of his finances and rarely of his religion." Letter to St. Geran, Aug. 20, 1681. "The king is well; every courier brings him great cause of joy, that is to say, news of conversions by thousands." Letter to her confessor Gobelins, Sep. 26, 1684. "The king is well pleased at having completed the great work of bringing back the heretics to the church. Father La Chaise has promised that it shall not cost one drop of blood, and M. de Louvois says the same. I am glad that those of Paris have been brought to reason. Claude was a seditious man, who confirmed them in their errors: since they lost him, they are more docile. I think, with you, that all these conversions are not sincere; but, at least, the children will be Catholics." Letter to St. Geran, Oct. 25, 1685.‡

The writer of these letters, who never suffered herself to become so engrossed by devotion as to forget the interests of this sublunary world, suggests to her spendthrift brother, to whom she sends a gift of a hundred thousand livres from

* This was always a symptom of reviving piety.

† Mem. du Marquis de La Fare, chap. ix. 1678.

‡ We have copied these extracts from Browning, without taking the trouble to verify them.

the king, that there is a rare chance for a land speculation. "You had better lay out the money in Poictou lands. They are to be had for almost nothing, in consequence of the flight of the Huguenots." Solicitous for the welfare of her Protestant relatives, here and hereafter, she attempted their conversion; and so powerful were her persuasives—a fair settlement in this world, and a fairer prospect for the next—that she was usually successful. The Marquis de la Villette, a jolly old sailor, made a sturdy resistance, and held out against the rhetoric of Bossuet and the logic of Bourdaloue; but, at length, yielded to policy and abjured.*

The clergy were the most zealous in their efforts, and the most profuse in their adulation. "Compel them to come in," was their favorite text before the king.† At their general assembly, in the month of May preceding the revocation, they had the effrontery to compliment him for having repressed heresy "without violence or arms," and led back the wandering sheep to the fold "by a path of flowers." And to cap the climax of their servility and hypocrisy, when they appeared before the monarch, after the revocation, to offer him their thanks, they said to him, through their spokesman, the Abbe Colbert: "We must confess, sire, that notwithstanding our desire for the extinction of heresy, our joy would scarcely have exceeded our grief, if in order to crush that hydra, a sad necessity had compelled you to resort to fire and sword, as was the case with your predecessors.

* * * But now that you combat the pride of heresy with nothing but the wisdom and clemency of your government, now that your laws sustained by your beneficence are your only arms, we render our unalloyed thanks to God, who has inspired your majesty with those wise and gentle means of conquering error. * * * That which your zeal has already performed, posterity will ever regard as the source of your prosperity and the consummation of your glory."‡

In the incense which was offered to Louis XIV., and the stimulants that were administered to his flagging zeal, we regret to say that Bourdaloue bore a conspicuous part. His insidious compliments to the king, and his intemperate rep-

* The marquis was despatched on a long, disagreeable voyage for the benefit of his spiritual health, and returned completely restored. It was about this time, if we mistake not, that Louis sent the Duke de la Force to his favorite hospital for infirm souls, the Bastille, and had the catechism administered to him, in broken doses; and lest his wife, who was an obstinate heretic, should interfere with his spiritual regimen, he shut her up in a convent.

† Caylus, p. 371.

‡ Cocquerel, i., p. 79. Félice, p. 399.

rehension of the heretics—Luther and Calvin are, in his gentle terms, the “children of hell”—were well suited to foster that excessive arrogance which enslaved and depopulated the kingdom.* In a most extravagant panegyric upon St. Louis, that mortal enemy of heresy, who established the inquisition at Toulouse, he applauds his persecution of the Albigenses, and commends his example to the emulation of his successor. Apostrophizing the royal saint, he exclaims: “Extend thy protection over our august monarch. He is thy son, the chief of thy house, the imitator of thy virtues, the living image of thy heroic and regal qualities: for like thee he has a zeal for God; like thee, he is the protector of the true religion, the restorer of altars, the exterminator of heresy. What has he not done to merit these titles? With what vigor has he not combated the enemies of the faith; with what success has he not vanquished them? Obtain for him the grace and the illumination which he needs to achieve the great design with which God has inspired him,” &c.† With a moral obliquity which is perfectly astounding, he openly avows his preference for hypocrisy to infidelity. He would have esteemed a Tartuffe beyond a Rousseau, a voluptuous Harlay above a mild and temperate Hume, and, doubtless, he believed the Duchess of Portsmouth more pious than William’s Queen Mary. His approval of violence is undisguised: he even recommends it upon principle. “Behold the genius of heresy. Convince, without disarming it; or disarm, without convincing it; and you accomplish nothing. To compass its destruction, you must employ both—an arm to subdue, and a head to refute it. The one separated from the other is always feeble; united, they are irresistible.”‡ He takes care to remind Louis that the work which Condé had been unable to perform—the total extinction of heresy—was reserved for “the piety of the greatest of kings, our invincible monarch.” This was delivered in 1683. Its influence upon the revocation is obvious.

The extracts which follow from the correspondence of that clever but selfish and frivolous woman, Madame de Sevigné—a kind of female Shimei, who could pelt with a hearty good-will any cause that happened to be proscribed, or unfashionable at court—place Bourdaloue in anything but a favorable light.

* Rabaut, *Précis Historique de la Revolution Française*, p. 15. Paris, 1822.

† Sermon pour la fête de St. Louis.

‡ Oraison Funébre de Henri de Bourbon, ii., p. 61.

"Father Bourdaloue goes, by order of the king, to preach at Montpellier, and in those provinces where so many people have been converted without knowing why. Bourdaloue will inform them. The dragoons thus far have proved most excellent missionaries. The preachers now sent will complete the work." Letter to Count de Bussy, Oct. 28, 1685.

"I admire the plan of the king for destroying the Huguenots. The wars which were formerly urged against them, and St. Bartholomew, multiplied and strengthened the sect. His majesty has weakened them by degrees, and the edict which he has just issued, sustained by the dragoons and Bourdaloue, has given them the finishing stroke." Letter of the Count de Bussy to Sevigne, Nov. 14, 1685.

"Every thing is missionary now. Every body believes he has a mission, especially the magistrates and governors of the provinces, aided by dragoons. This is the grandest and finest thing imaginable," &c. Letter of Sevigne to Moulceau, Nov. 24, 1685.

The reader will notice in these letters, that trifling with sacred things—that impious *badinage*—which more particularly distinguished a later age. Voltaire took his first lessons from the courtly devotees of Louis XIV.

When we contemplate only the appalling consequences of this act of intolerance, consequences which a ruler less sagacious than Louis might easily have foreseen, we are at a loss to conjecture the motives which impelled him. But the circumstances of the case suggest to us its solution. Louis was, as we have intimated, proud, ignorant and superstitious. "He had been inspired," says the Princess Palatine, "with so great a fear of hell that he believed that all who had not been instructed by the Jesuits were damned, and he feared to be damned himself if he consorted with them. Old Maintenon and La Chaise persuaded him that all the sins which he had committed with Montespan, would be forgiven if he persecuted and expelled the Reformed: that was the way to heaven. The poor king believed it firmly; for he had never, in all his life, read the Bible; and after that persecution commenced. He knew nothing about religion, except what his confessors told him. They made him believe that he must abjure his reason in matters of religion, in order to gain salvation. He, at least, was honest; and it was not his fault that his courtiers were hypocrites. Old Maintenon compelled them to be so."* He was intoxicated with the pride of place and power. The peace of Nymegen, 1679, marked the culmination of his brilliant career. He had astonished all Europe with the magnitude and splendor of his conquests; defeated the combined armies of Austria,

* Memoires, p. 37.

Holland and Spain; and adorned the Louvre with the spoils of vanquished nations. His people, in the excess of their admiration and joy, conferred upon him the title of *Le Grand*. The dream of absolutism had haunted him from his earliest days; and the present seemed a fit time for its realization. No achievement appeared too stupendous for a monarch whom Europe dreaded, whom his subjects adored as a divinity, and his clergy praised as a second Constantine.* Moreover, his purpose was approved by the dignitaries of the church, by the keepers of his conscience, by all to whom he gave his confidence. He was also embroiled with the head of the papal communion, in consequence of the declaration of his clergy in 1682; and some signal display of zeal was needed to attest his filial reverence. Other and better influences had, for some time, been operating on his mind. In 1674, the beautiful Valliere, the only mistress whom he ever truly loved—a sweet and gentle creature who deserved a better fate—retired to a nunnery to expiate the frailties of her youth by the austerities of a Carmelite. The spectacle of one whose love had been his solace and his pride, withdrawing, while yet young and in all the loveliness of her undiminished beauty, from the gayeties and flatteries of a court, to the seclusion, the gloom and the penances of a cloister, touched his heart. While a prey to these pensive reflections, the Jubilee of 1676, attended by a kind of revival of religion at the court, summoned him to repentance and restitution, and awakened in him sentiments of contrition which, after repeated struggles with his rebellious inclination, induced him to acquiesce in the retirement of Madame de Montespan. At this juncture, the queen died. The pious resignation with which she met the approach of the last enemy, and the sensibility to his welfare which she evinced in her last sad hours, were suited to check his frivolity, and affect a heart not totally hardened by criminal indulgences; and amid the gorgeous solemnities with which he honored her bier, he must have reverted, with a pensive tenderness, to those austere virtues which, although they repelled his voluptuous heart, had won his sincere respect and admiration. In this sorrowful mood, it was natural for him to think that the promotion of that faith, which had preserved Maria Theresa unsullied at a court like his, which imparted to her those meek and quiet graces, that made her patient under his neglect and estrangement, and rendered her worthy

* *Memoires de Duc de Noailles*, p. 297, 1685.

of the lofty encomium of Bossuet, was the most appropriate testimony he could offer of his respect for her piety and his sorrow for her loss.

These various considerations united to confirm the king's resolution; and when he affixed his signature to the edict of revocation, he verily believed that he performed an act, pleasing to God and beneficial to his country. The edict itself, with its preparatory and subsequent ordinances, constitutes the blackest chapter in the history of our race. With an aggravation of cruelty which almost defies belief, while he interdicted to his Protestant subjects the exercise of their religion, he denied them the sad privilege of exile, and lined the frontiers of his kingdom with armed sentinels to prevent their escape. The sanctuaries of private life were ruthlessly invaded, the ties of nature sundered, and children torn from the embrace of weeping parents to be placed in nunneries. Permitted, at the age of seven years, to adjust the conflicting claims of Rome and Geneva, and abjure their religion, they were cajoled and menaced into acquiescence. Residents in foreign lands were denied the protection of the crown, and ordered home, to behold their temples demolished, and their relatives, apostates or in prison, while a brutal soldiery and a rude, illiterate priesthood trampled on all that was dear and venerable and sacred in their eyes. The persecuted saints fled in dismay. Some took refuge in "caves and dens of the earth;" others escaped in disguise, to foreign lands. Delicate gentlewomen, whose feet had never pressed anything harder than the smooth walks and flowery meads of their gardens, struggled over rugged, rocky mountains and through tangled forests, in quest of an unnoticed avenue of escape. Holland, Germany, England, Switzerland, even Turkey, opened their arms to welcome the exiles. Some wandered to this distant land; and their honored names still continue with us. Here, where we write, we have but to lift up our eyes from the paper, to behold the form of one in whose veins flows the blood of an exiled Huguenot; and that bright-haired boy, whose innocent eyes are now fixed upon us, may claim an ancestral interest in the heroism of those "who kept the truth so pure of old."

While the Huguenots were suffering the horrors of the revocation, Louis and his advisers amused their leisure with balls, masquerades, billiards, operas and comedies. The monarch promenaded, with his new favorite, in the luxuriant gardens of Versailles; or escorted her to Marly, Trianon and St. Cyr. He even presided at the first representation of Racine's *Esther*, unconscious that the poet had vailed under

the allegory of the piece, the characters of his own cruel and hypocritical court.* And yet it is of this king that one of his flatterers has said: "There has never been a more humane king, since the beginning of the monarchy. He did not shed the blood of any of the nobles of his kingdom except the Chevalier de Rohan."† Such is the tribute of Marshal Berwick. The blood of nobles, forsooth. The blood of plebeian Huguenots was nothing in the eyes of this bastard of James II.

It is not to be supposed that the atrocities of the French king would pass without remonstrances from the Protestant governments of Europe; but, unhappily, those remonstrances came with an ill grace. The bigots of one persuasion can not effectually rebuke the bigots of another. Protestantism and Popery were alike established by law, and leaned, for support, upon the civil arm. Protestant princes and rulers emulated the persecuting zeal of the abettors of the papacy. They were all deeply tainted with the impious harlotry of Rome, so that there were none left to cast the first stone. Charles II. did, indeed, interpose, through his ambassador at the court of Versailles; but it was like Satan rebuking sin, like the King of Prussia interceding with the Grand Duke of Tuscany—the persecutor of Oncken supplicating the gaoler of the Madiai. While Louis ravaged France with his dragoons, the act of uniformity and the conventicle act winnowed the dissenters of England and the covenanters of Scotland; and even in our own land, far removed from the cabals of European statesmen, and the intrigues of Romish priests, the Puritans of New England were smiting our Baptist fathers with the rod of civil power. Indeed, it is worthy of remark that when the Huguenots of France were assembled in their last general synod at Loudun, in 1659—a privilege accorded to them by the clemency of Mazarin—John Bunyan was solacing his imprisonment in Bedford jail by weaving his gorgeous visions of the heavenly Jerusalem; Clark and Crandal were writhing under the stripes inflicted on them at the public whipping-post, "by authority of the honorable court assembled at Boston;" and poor Holmes was detailing his terrible sufferings in his celebrated letter "unto the well-beloved brethren" in London.‡ It is a melancholy proof of the intolerance of the age, that there was but one man

* *Mademoiselle de la Fayette*, *Memoires*, p. 67.

† *Mem. du Maréchal de Berwick*, p. 239, 1715. Anquetil repeats the remark. *Mem. of the Court of Louis XIV.* (Translated,) Edinburgh, 1791, vol. i., p. 211.

‡ *Benedict, Hist. Baptists*—i. p. 371. Boston, 1813.

living who could consistently have rebuked the intolerance of the French king. But his humble voice could not have reached the ear of that ostentatious despot.

Two years before the birth of Louis XIV., a form might have been descried in the depths of our primeval forests—the form of one in the vigor of early manhood, exposed to the severity of a New England winter, tracing his path through the deep snow, and across frozen rivers, in quest of “a shelter for persons distressed for conscience.” Successful in his search, he inscribed his humble altar to the Providence which had guided and blessed him, and at his death he left behind him a name, which constitutes full half the real glory of our race. Well might he say: “This poor colony consists mostly of a Birth and Breeding of the Most High.” Such men are the genuine noblemen of earth. That majestic lyric, in which an English poetess has celebrated the perils and virtues of the Pilgrim Fathers—false when applied to them—is true only of Roger Williams and his associates.

“Aye, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod.
They left unstained what there they found,
Freedom to worship God.”

It has sometimes occurred to us that, in the indiscriminate praise which has been awarded to this great man, the real ground of his claim to the veneration and gratitude of mankind, has, not unfrequently, been overlooked. This was not the mere assertion of the rights of conscience; multitudes had done that before. What can be more rational and just than the views of the pagan orator, Themistius, in his address to the Christian emperor Jovian, in 363? They are greatly in advance of Milton, Taylor and Locke. What can be nobler than the remonstrances of Alcuin against the intolerance of Charlemagne? The truth is, that freedom of conscience is the instinctive cry of the weak, when oppressed by the powerful. It is the invariable creed of the minority, and its opposite is the usual creed of the majority. Religious persecution is very much like political proscription; opposed only by those who feel its smart. Both of the great political parties of our country have, in turn, professed and abjured the maxim, that “to the victors belong the spoils.” Each has opposed it fiercely, when out of place, and practiced it most vigorously, when in power. The true glory of Roger Williams consists in the fact, that as the founder of a political community, he ignored religion altogether, and placed it entirely beyond the province of the civil ruler. As

a private individual, he was of the "straitest sect;" but in his public capacity, he knew nothing of saint or sinner, Jew, Christian, infidel or Turk, Sabbath-day, Lord's day, or Saint's day, cathedral, meeting-house, mosque or pagoda. And he was right. Yet we build his sepulcher, and repudiate his principles.

We are not partial to what have been styled the retributions of history; but it may be well to pause, for a while, and notice the singular fatality of the persecutors and betrayers of the Huguenot cause. Antoine de Bourbon was slain in battle, fighting against his former brethren. The murderers of St. Bartholomew perished miserably. Charles IX. died of a mysterious malady, tortured by remorse and fear; the Duke of Alençon, of a debauch. Catherine was terrified by the phantom of her accomplice and paramour, Cardinal Lorraine. The Duke of Guise perished by assassination; Henry III. met the same fate, and in him the race of the Valois was extinguished, thus verifying the prophecy of John Knox, when the news of that perfidious massacre reached him. "Sentence has gone forth against that murderer, the King of France, and the vengeance of God will never be withdrawn from his house." Henry IV. fell by the arm of a Catholic assassin; Louvois died in disgrace, by poison; Henrietta in the same way. Maintenon became the mere slave of Louis, and the monarch himself grew gloomy and peevish. After the revocation he "became," says Anquetil, "more and more retired and unsocial." War ravaged his kingdom; death thinned the ranks of his family. His wife left him on his death-bed, and fled to St. Cyr, from the outrage of the populace, and the mob pelted the few mourners that carried him to his tomb. Finally, the Revolution came, and settled the account with king, noble and priest, together.

The career of Louis XIV., has given to history one of its numerous recorded instances of the impotence of persecution. The church of God, as Beza said to the King of Navarre, is "an anvil that has worn out many a hammer." The statue of the king, which was designed to commemorate his triumph over Protestantism, has long since been melted into cannon to thunder against his throne: his very bones have been trampled on, and his ashes scattered to the winds. But Protestantism still lives in France; and is strongest in those provinces from which he supposed he had expelled it.

* Mem. of the Court of Louis XIV., vol. i., p. 357.

When the decrepit monarch lay upon his dying bed, smitten with remorse and terror, striving to transfer to his ghostly advisers, the burden of guilt which, in spite of the opiates and lenitives administered by his confessors, pressed heavily and painfully at his heart, the truth of the living God—the faith which he had bent his imperial power to destroy—was relighting its fires on the heights of Vivarais. Vain dream of absolutism. The bier of the Grand Monarque is pelted on its way to the vaults of St. Denys, while a distant province echoes the stirring tones of Antoine Court, the restorer of Protestantism in France.*

Such was the King. It was necessary to give our readers some items of his history, to enable them the better to appreciate the position of the Preacher. To this latter we will give our attention in the next number of the Review.

ART. V.—SCRIPTURE FACTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS, COLLECTED DURING A JOURNEY IN PALESTINE.

THE writer might more properly entitle this article “Examples of Scripture Facts,” &c.; for those which are presented here form but a small part of the similar illustrations which fall under the notice of a traveler during a journey of four months in the lands of the Bible. In order to keep within the limits which this mode of publication prescribes, it is necessary to make a selection from the mass of particulars bearing on the subject, which offer themselves to our choice. No attempt has been made to follow any definite order in the arrangement of the items; for the only order that could be observed, owing to the isolated character of the incidents, would be that of the time of recording the various circumstances, and that is an order or principle of connection which it can be of no possible advantage to regard in the present instance. No claim of novelty is meant to be asserted in behalf of most of the illustrations which will be mentioned. But it will be borne in mind, that any customs or peculiarities of scenery

*Felice, p. 456. The dying king said to Cardinals De Bussy and De Rohan and to his confessor Le Tellier, that he himself was ignorant of the nature of what he had done: he had acted by their advice, and they must answer to God for him. Duclos, p. 68. St. Simon, and Dangeau.

that throw light on the Scriptures, which a person may have an opportunity to observe for himself in the countries where the events of sacred history occurred, though they may often have been remarked and reported by others, have still for the witness of them as much interest, power, and impressiveness, as if he beheld them for the first time. Possibly, some of the facts may not have attracted the attention of others, or have struck them in the same way. Even the statements which repeat merely the observations of others may have some value, if not as adding to the existing stock of information, yet as furnishing new testimony to its truth and reliableness. The points offered here for consideration being so disconnected, I have thought it well to prefix a motto to the different topics, as a means of distinguishing them and of notifying the reader of the transition from one to another.

THE CHILD JESUS LEFT AT JERUSALEM.

The usual rate of traveling in the East is three miles an hour; and as the number of hours devoted to traveling rarely exceeds six or eight hours, the distance of an ordinary day's journey may be considered as twenty or twenty-five miles. The first day, however, on starting on an expedition, forms an exception to this rule: on that day it is not customary to go more than six or eight miles, and the tents are pitched for the first night's encampment almost within sight of the place from which the journey commences. The sun was hanging low as I left Cairo, to proceed across the desert to Syria, and after a march of two hours and a half, we halted near the obelisk which marks the site of Heliopolis, the On of Scripture. We conformed in this respect, as I was told, to the general practice of travelers, in setting forth on this journey. The only reason that I heard assigned for this procedure was, that it furnishes an opportunity if anything has been forgotten, to return to the city and supply the deficiency. This explanation may be the correct one, and at all events agrees with such notices, in books of travels, as the following from Maundrell: "We set out from Aleppo," he says, "at three in the afternoon, intending to make only a short step that evening, in order to prove how well we were provided with necessaries for our journey." But this practice of restricting the first day's journey, in whatever way it may have arisen, has existed apparently from the earliest times; for we find the stations marked in the itineraries of the oldest travelers in the East, agreeing very remarkably with those mentioned

by later travelers.* The permanency, therefore, so characteristic of Asiatic life in general, may be supposed to have maintained itself in this respect, as it has done in other things. Perhaps we may avail ourselves of this fact, in order to account for an incident in the history of the Saviour, which has appeared to some surprising. I refer to the account of his first visit to Jerusalem at the age of twelve years. The parents of Jesus are said to have traveled a day's journey on their return, without knowing what had become of their son; they were ignorant whether he was in the company or not, and as if indifferent respecting his safety, make no inquiry in regard to him till the close of the day. Certain critics (it is one of Strauss' objections) have represented this as so improbable and unnatural as to throw discredit upon the truth of the entire narrative. But if this first day's journey occupied two or three hours only, the difficulty disappears. They had reason to suppose that he was with some of their relatives or friends who were traveling with them; they could act, naturally enough, under that impression for so short a time, and would have no occasion for anxiety until his continued absence when they came to halt for the night aroused their fears. We are informed that when this was the case, they adopted prompt measures to find the missing one; they showed that their having omitted to keep him constantly at their side was owing to anything but a want of that parental care and love, in which the transaction has been said to cause them to appear so deficient. Tradition has fixed on El-Bireh, less than three hours north of Jerusalem, as the place where the "Holy Family" stopped at the close of the first day, and whence they turned back to the city, in order to seek the child, on discovering that he was absent. We can attach indeed no historical value to this tradition, but it is instructive in this respect, that it has selected that particular station, because parties traveling to the north from Jerusalem are accustomed to spend the first night there; and in all probability, it has been the resting-place of caravans on that journey from time immemorial.

* We halted early," says Mr. Beldam, "according to custom, the distance being but thirteen miles from Cairo, in order to muster our forces and ascertain that all things were provided for a longer flight." *Recollections of Scenes, &c., in the East*, (1851,) vol. i., p. 281. The author of *Helon's Pilgrimage*, that beautiful picture of the religious and social life of the Hebrews in the century before the birth of Christ, has evinced his fidelity by recognizing the same usage. "The first day's journey of the pilgrims," he says, "as is usual with caravans, was very short. They traveled scarcely an hour and a half, as far as Gerrha, where they encamped near a fountain." *Helon's Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, vol. i., p. 63.

THE DEATH OF JUDAS.

In Matt. 27: 5, it is said that Judas, after having brought his money and thrown it down in the temple, went and hanged himself. Objectors have represented this statement as inconsistent with that in Acts 1: 18, where he is said to have "purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst and all his bowels gushed out." But these passages do not necessarily contradict each other. Matthew does not say that Judas, after having hanged himself, *did not* fall to the ground, nor, on the contrary, does Luke say that Judas *did not* hang himself before he fell to the ground; and unless the writers affirm the reality of the events which they respectively mention in such a way as to assert or imply that if the one event be true the other must be false, it is obvious that they do not contradict each other. Of the precise relation of the two events in question to each other, we have no information, and can affirm nothing with certainty. Some intermediate circumstance connected the one with the other as parts of the same transaction, but that circumstance has not been recorded. It is conjectured that Judas may have hung himself on the edge of a precipice near the valley of Hinnom, and that the rope breaking by which he was suspended, he fell to the earth and was dashed to pieces. As I stood in this valley and looked up to the rocky heights which hang over it on the south side of Jerusalem, I felt that the proposed explanation was a perfectly natural one; I was more than ever satisfied with it. I measured the precipitous, almost perpendicular walls, in different places, and found the height to be variously forty, thirty-six, thirty-three, thirty, and twenty-five feet. Olive trees still grow quite near the edge of these rocks, and anciently no doubt these and other trees were still more numerous in the same place. At the bottom of these precipices are also rocky ledges on which a person would fall from above, and in that case not only would life be destroyed, but the body almost inevitably would be bruised and mangled.

A COMMENT ON ACTS 18: 1.

Paul on leaving Athens proceeded to Corinth, and as he would take naturally the most direct way, he went undoubtedly by sea. No writer has stated very precisely the duration of such a voyage. Wieseler says that it could be performed in two days. A Greek seaman informed me as I was going from the Piræus to Kalimaki, the modern port of Corinth on

the east side, that he had made the passage with a very fair wind in three hours, (though on the average in five or six hours,) and that in bad weather he had been as many as five days on the way. The steamer which runs between the two places occupies generally four hours. The distance is about forty-five miles. From the summit of the Acropolis at Corinth, I could see distinctly the Acropolis at Athens, crowned with its glittering ruins, and also parts of the modern city; and the observer at Athens in like manner can see the hill on which stood the citadel of Corinth, though it is less distinct, as it has upon it no very conspicuous object at the present time.

GRINDING AT THE MILL.

It is a little remarkable that although the practice of grinding corn by a hand-mill, to which the sacred writers so often allude, is still very common in Syria, I yet witnessed but one instance of it. This was at Jenin, on the border of the plain of Esdraelon. In the court of one of the houses of this village, I saw two young women sitting on the ground, engaged in this mode of grinding. The mill consisted of two stones, the upper one circular, the lower one partly so, with a projection of two or three inches long, hollowed out like the bowl of a spoon, so as to serve as a receptacle for the meal. The lower stone had an iron pivot (I think it was) extending from its center through a hole in the center of the upper stone. An upright handle was fixed in a socket near the edge of the upper stone, and both the women taking hold of this handle, whirled the stone round and round with great rapidity. One of them every now and then dropped a handful of grain into the hole at the center of the upper stone. Perceiving my curiosity, they stopped the motion of the mill, and separating the parts, showed me the interior of it. I found that the surface of the stones where they came in contact was very rough, almost serrated, being indented in that way for the purpose of crushing the grain more effectually. The labor of grinding at such mills is still performed for the most part by females, as is implied in the Saviour's declaration: "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken and the other left." It was impossible to look at two persons sitting like those females by the side of each other, and engaged in the same occupation, without feeling how forcibly that language must have conveyed to Christ's hearers the intended idea of the suddenness of the destruction which was about to burst on Judea, and of the difficulty and uncertainty, in the

case of each individual, of his effecting his escape from it. The operation of grinding is attended with some noise, which is often increased still more by the singing or shrieking, as we might more properly call it, of the women who perform the labor; and hence the recurrence of this noise at the proper hour, which is usually at early dawn, is one of the characteristics of an inhabited and flourishing village. The cessation of this noise, on the contrary, is mentioned in the Scriptures as one of the things which mark most impressively the solitude of a place given up to desertion and ruin. Thus, in Jer. 25: 10, 11, God threatens to take from the Jews "the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones and the light of the candle, and the whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment." So, in Rev. 18: 22, the writer announces the overthrow of the mystical Babylon in terms very similar: "The voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers and trumpeters, shall be heard no more in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee." The possession of a millstone was a necessary part of the furniture of every household; and hence the Hebrew lawgiver enacted (Deut. 24: 6) that "no man should take the upper or nether millstone as a pledge; for he taketh a man's life in pledge." Deprived of this, he could not prepare his daily food. The common millstone rarely exceeds two feet in diameter, and hence its size fitted it to be used as an instrument of punishment. It was sometimes fastened to the necks of criminals who were to be drowned. To this use of it the passage alludes which says: Sooner than "offend one of these little ones it were better for a man that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea." See also Matt. 18: 6, and Luke 17: 2. This mode of execution is employed, in certain cases, in the East at the present day.

USE OF SNOW-WATER.

At Damascus, snow is kept for sale in the bazaars, brought from the neighboring mountains of Anti-Lebanon, and is used, like ice with us, for the purpose of cooling the arrack, sherbet, and other drinks of the inhabitants. I found the use of some such mixture, in a hot day, both agreeable and refreshing. In this practice of the East, which was not unknown among the Greeks and Romans, of mingling snow with their drinks, we have an illustration of Prov. 25: 13: "As the cold of

snow in the time of harvest, [when the heat is felt most oppressively, owing to the labor and the season of the year,] so is a faithful messenger to them that send him; for he refresheth the soul of his master." The prompt return of the messenger with good tidings, relieving the minds of those who are waiting in suspense, cheers and refreshes their spirits, like a cooling draught in the heat of summer.

IDENTIFICATION OF HELBON.

In Ezekiel 27 : 18, mention is made of "the wine of Helbon." It is named as one of the articles of traffic which the Tyrians received, in exchange for their merchandise, from Damascus. It has been commonly supposed that this Helbon was identical with the modern Haleb or Aleppo, on the Mediterranean coast north of Beirut. The Rev. Dr. Paulding, an American missionary at Damascus, informed me that a valley, called the valley of Helbon, exists on the eastern slope of Anti-Lebanon, north of the Barada, which receives its name from Helbon, one of its principal villages. He has visited the place, and states that the grapes produced there are remarkable for their fine quality, and that the wine obtained from them is regarded as the choice wine of that part of Syria. The wine of ancient Helbon had a similar reputation, and this circumstance, together with the situation of the place and the coincidence of the name, leaves but little doubt that the modern Helbon on Anti-Lebanon is the town or valley to which the prophet referred. This fact was mentioned to Dr. Robinson, who visited Damascus a few weeks later. He has expressed the opinion (no man living has a better knowledge of the topography of Palestine) that the conjecture of the missionaries as to the identity of the places is correct.

THE MUSTARD-SEED PLANT.

In the parable of the mustard-seed, it is said that this seed, although the smallest of all seeds when cast into the earth, becomes, when grown up, a great tree, (in a comparative sense, of course,) and puts forth branches so that the fowls of heaven come and lodge among them. I was beginning to fear that I should leave the country without having an opportunity to see any example of this plant answering to the description of it in the parable. Of the various persons of whom I had made inquiry at Jerusalem, no one was able to give me any certain information. One said that probably

this species of the plant was now extinct. Another said that it was reputed to grow very large in Galilee, but could not vouch for it from personal observation. I had observed, indeed, in crossing the plain of Esdraelon, just before coming to Nazareth, that the mustard-plant was by no means uncommon there; but yet, though some of the stalks which I took pains to measure were quite large, they were still not so large as I had expected to find them, and not large enough, as it appeared to me, to suggest naturally the illustration in the parable. I was, therefore, disappointed. Some days after this, as I was riding across the plain of Acre, on the way to Carmel, I perceived at some distance from the path, what seemed to be a little forest or nursery of trees. I turned aside to examine them. On coming nearer, they proved to be an extensive field of the plant which I was so anxious to see. It was then in blossom, full grown, in some cases six, seven, and nine feet high, with a stem or trunk an inch or more in thickness, throwing out branches on every side. I was now satisfied in part. I felt that such a plant might well be called a tree, and, in comparison with the seed producing it, a great tree. But still the branches, or stems of branches, were not very large, or apparently very strong. Can the birds, I said to myself, rest upon them? Are they not too slight and flexible? Will they not bend or break beneath the superadded weight? At that very instant, as I stood and revolved the thought, lo! one of the fowls of heaven stopped in its flight through the air, lighted down on one of the branches, which hardly moved beneath the shock, and then began, perched there before my eyes, to warble forth a strain of the richest music. All my doubts were now charmed away. I was delighted at the incident. During the same day, I witnessed a repetition of the occurrence.*

WHITED SEPULCHERS.

One of the most common spectacles in Egypt and Syria, is the Wely, *i. e.*, a tomb erected to the memory of some reputed Mohammedan saint. It consists usually of a stone

* I am aware that some take the original word for "mustard-seed" in a generic sense, and understand a different and larger plant; but the common sense should not be discarded without necessity. The necessity, as I conceive, does not exist. An enthusiastic friend to whom I was mentioning the above-mentioned incident, remarked, that it was enough of itself to repay one for a journey to the East. The meeting with such incidental illustrations of Scripture constitutes, certainly, one important source of the gratification which a traveler may receive from day to day, as he wanders through the lands of the Bible.

or brick edifice, with a dome or cupola over it, varying in height from eight to ten feet, and containing often a mat and a jar of water, for the convenience of such as may choose to stop and perform their devotions. To subserve the use of the place as a chapel, still more perfectly, a slight recess or depression appears usually in the face of one of the interior walls, in order to indicate the direction of Mecca, toward which the worshiper turns in offering his prayers. The Mohammedans build these tombs in honor of those who are held in repute for the supposed sanctity of their lives, and often bestow much labor and expense on them, for the purpose of adorning them and keeping them in repair. They stand commonly by the road-side, or on some eminence where they can be seen far and wide. They are covered with stucco or are white-washed, and occupying such conspicuous positions, they thrust themselves on the traveler's attention continually and everywhere. It was a similar feeling, doubtless, which led the Jews to erect monuments in honor of their prophets and holy men, and to regard it in like manner, as an act of merit, both to build these monuments in the first instance, and afterward to garnish them and preserve them from decay. In Matt. 23: 29, 30, the Saviour reproaches the scribes and Pharisees with their hypocrisy, inasmuch as they professed to honor the memory of the prophets in this ostentatious manner, while they cast practically so much contempt on their doctrines. "Woe unto you," he says, "because ye build the tombs of the prophets and garnish the sepulchers of the righteous, and say, if we had lived in the time of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." Again in Matt. 23: 27, he says with reference to the appearance of the tombs, as contrasted with the use to which they were applied: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead *men's* bones, and of all uncleanness." I may add that many of these Welys or tombs in Palestine are still called after the names of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament. I either saw or heard of tombs of this description consecrated to Moses, Aaron, Abel, Seth, Ishmael, Samuel, Zechariah and others.

SALT DESERTS.

In traversing the desert between Egypt and the south of Palestine, my course, during most of the forenoon of March 23d, lay through a succession of basins or valleys where

the surface of the ground was slightly moist and covered with a thin incrustation of salt. There are other deserts or parts of deserts in the east, as travelers inform us, which exhibit the same peculiarity. No one of these probably is so remarkable in this respect as the one south of the Dead Sea. A soil of this nature must be of course unproductive; nothing grows there, and the means of supporting human life are wanting. It may be to this feature of an eastern desert, aggravating so much its other evils and rendering it unfit to be the abode of men, that the prophet Jeremiah refers when he says of the ungodly: "He shall inhabit the parched places of the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited," (17: 6.) The prophet himself may have traversed this very region through which I passed; though, probably, at a later period than that of the utterance of the oracle above quoted. He was one of the Jewish fugitives who repaired to Egypt after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. He appears to have ended his days in that country.

TURNING THE RIVERS OF WATER.

Just before leaving the cultivated part of Egypt, we halted one day in the vicinity of some gardens of vegetables, through which the water was conveyed by means of little channels or trenches, two or three inches deep. They could be formed in the soft earth very easily and expeditiously; and were carried to this direction or that, as the wants of the plantation required. Thus the gardener had the streams which flowed in these trenches under his control entirely, and could turn them this way or that as he pleased. To this mode of irrigation, unquestionably, we have a reference in Prov. 21: 1: "As the rivers [more properly channels] of water, so is the heart of the king in the hand of Jehovah; he turneth it whithersoever he will." I watched carefully, but did not observe the gardener use his foot in any instance, (he employed a light hoe,) for the purpose of breaking down the edges of the trenches, when he wished to change the direction of the current; but it was obvious that he would have found it entirely convenient, to proceed in that manner, and I have no doubt that it is a common mode of accomplishing the object. Several writers speak of having seen the water conducted thus from one channel to another, under the guidance of the foot of the husbandman. The fact, if well established, furnishes the best explanation of the remarkable expression in Deut. 11: 10, where the writer is describing the land of promise as distinguished from Egypt.

"The land whither thou goest to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowest thy seed and waterest it with thy foot as a garden of herbs; but is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven."

Another account of the phrase "watering with the foot" has been proposed. Cruden states it as follows: "A wheel is employed which a man turns with the motion of his feet, by ascending successively the several steps which are attached to it. But since while he is thus turning the wheel, he can not preserve his position, he holds a stay in his hands, which is not movable, and thus supports himself. So that in this work the hands do the office of the feet, and the feet that of the hands; since the hands which should act are at rest, and the feet which should be at rest, are in action and give motion to the wheel." Philo describes such a wheel, and some modern travelers speak of its continued use in Egypt. I do not recollect to have seen it. Wheels for raising the water of the Nile are very common, but turned generally by oxen or camels.

THE GRASS OF THE OVEN.

In crossing Lebanon, we stopped one day for refreshment, near a rivulet flowing toward the east. As I was sitting there, I observed a peasant of the country digging up with a sort of pick-ax, the clumps of shrubs and coarse grass, which grow in the thin soil spread over the rocks. He was collecting them to carry home, in order to burn them as fuel. I had seen heaps of the same material piled up near the limekilns in the vicinity of Urtas; and I frequently saw troops of donkeys returning from the fields loaded with bundles of such fuel. The scarcity of wood in the East is very great, and the people are obliged to resort to the use of almost everything that is capable of being burnt, in order to procure the means of warming their houses in winter and of preparing their daily food. They not only cut down for this purpose the shrubs and larger kinds of grass, but gather the common withered grass itself and the wild flowers of which the fields display so rich a profusion. It is from this source that the Saviour derives the beautiful illustration which he employs for the purpose of repressing an undue solicitude on the part of his followers respecting the wants of the present life: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory, was not arrayed like one

of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" Matt. 6 : 28-30.

DWELLING ON THE HOUSE-TOP.

On the roof of the house where I lodged at Damascus, were chambers and rooms along the side and at the corners of the open space or terrace which constitutes often a sort of upper story. I observed the same thing in connection with other houses. At Deburieh, a little village at the foot of Mount Tabor, I noticed small booths made of the branches and leaves of trees, on some of the house-tops. Pococke, who spent a night at Tiberias, says, "We supped on the top of the house, for coolness, according to their custom, and lodged there likewise, in a sort of closet about eight feet square, of wicker work, plastered round toward the bottom, but without any doors."* Such places, though very agreeable as a retreat from the sun in summer and cooler than the interior of the house, would be very undesirable as a constant abode, especially in the rainy season and during the winter. Any rooms so exposed as those on the roof and comparatively so narrow and confined, would be inferior to the lower and ordinary apartments of the house. To such places of retreat on the roof, we may suppose the proverb to refer which says: "Better to dwell in the corner of the house-top than with a brawling woman in a wide house." (Prov. 21 : 9.)

THE TENTS OF KEDAR.

The goats of the East are commonly black, and a species of cloth is made from their skins, having the same color. This is the article commonly used by the Arabs for covering their tents. In approaching Bethlehem from the direction of the desert, I passed an encampment of this people whose tents were all made of this black cloth, and which presented a striking appearance, especially as contrasted with the white canvas tents to which I had been accustomed hitherto and which travelers so generally employ in that country. At Tekoa, Amos' birth-place, six miles south of Bethlehem, I beheld a similar scene. The settlement there consisted of two small groups of tents, one larger than the other; they were

* Pococke's Travels, vol. ii., p. 69. London, 1745.

covered with the black cloth before mentioned, supported on several poles and turned up in part on one side, so that a person from without could look into the interior. In crossing the mountains of Lebanon, the path of the traveler leads him often along the brow of lofty summits overlooking deep valleys, at the bottom of which may be seen the long black tents of migratory shepherds. It is this aspect of a Bedouin encampment that supplies the comparison in Solomon's Song: "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." "To the tents of the Orientals, viewed singly," says a certain traveler, "it would be often difficult to ascribe the epithet 'comely,' but as forming part of a prospect they are a very beautiful object." I add for the sake of explanation that Kedar was the name of an Arab or Ishmaelitish tribe, who like nomadic wanderers in general, appear to have dwelt in different places at different times. They are mentioned repeatedly in the Old Testament. The Psalmist, for instance, (120: 5,) alludes to them in the expression, "Woe is me that I dwell in the tents of Kedar." They seem to have had a bad preëminence above others of their race as a quarrelsome, belligerent people.

GRASS ON THE HOUSE-TOPS.

At Anata, the Anathoth of Scripture, where the prophet Jeremiah was born, (Jer. 1: 1,) a little village north-east of Jerusalem, I observed that the roofs of some of the houses were partially covered with grass, and I noticed the same thing in many places. As the roofs of the common dwellings are flat, and, instead of being built of stone or wood, are coated with plaster or hardened earth, a slight crop of grass frequently springs up in that situation; but having no soil into which it can strike its roots, and being exposed to a scorching sun, it rarely attains any great height, or continues long; it is a feeble, stunted product and soon withers away. Hence the sacred writers sometimes allude to the grass on the house-tops as an emblem of weakness, frailty and certain destruction. Thus in Psalm 129: 6, 7, it is said:

"They shall be ashamed and turn back,
All those that hate Zion.
They shall be as grass upon the house-tops,
Which, before one plucks it, withers away;
With which the mower fills not his hand,
Nor the sheaf-binder his bosom."

In Isaiah 37: 27, Hezekiah, speaking of Judah as laid waste by the Assyrians, says: "Therefore their inhabitants were of small power; they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field and as the green herb, as the grass on the house-tops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up."

THE HOUSE-TOP THE PLACE OF OBSERVATION.

At this same place, Anata, I had an illustration of another passage of Scripture. Our presence excited some interest among the villagers, and numbers of them, both men and women, ascended the roofs of the houses, where they could observe us and our movements to better advantage. In the larger towns, the houses, especially of the better class, have windows which look toward the street, though guarded usually by close lattice work, as well as windows which look into the court and are more open; but in the common villages, the houses, as a general thing, have windows of the latter description only, and hence the inmates in order to obtain a view of anything taking place at a distance or on the outside of the habitation, must ascend to the top of them. Accordingly in Isa. 22: 1, where the prophet would represent the people in the country as alarmed by the apprehension of an approaching enemy, he describes them not as watching at the windows to descry the approach of the invaders, but as standing on the house-tops and looking anxiously in the direction of the threatened danger. How unintelligible without a knowledge of that peculiarity would be the prophet's abrupt exclamation: "What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone up on the house-tops?"

PASTURES OF THE DESERT.

The deserts of the East rarely consist of mere sand for any considerable distance. They are covered or interspersed for the most part, with clumps of coarse grass and low shrubs, on which not only the camels feed, but the sheep and goats. The people of the villages on the border of such deserts are accustomed to lead forth their flocks to the pastures found there. This is a spectacle that I saw often in traveling from Cairo to the south of Palestine. The shepherds also pitch their tents in such places and feed their flocks and herds there, until the consumption of the grass compels them to remove to a new station. See Joel 1: 19; 2: 22; Ps. 65: 12, &c. The term is applied still more widely.

Tracts of country, comparatively fertile, suitable in the main for agricultural or grazing purposes, are called deserts in the Bible, when they are remote from towns, and but thinly inhabited.

READING ALOUD.

The Orientals when they read, though it is for their own instruction only, and without any intention of being heard by others, read for the most part, audibly. The Jews conform in this respect to the custom of other eastern nations. I witnessed examples of this on several occasions, especially at the Jews' Wailing Place at Jerusalem, where they assemble almost daily to read the Scriptures and chant their prayers. At Safet, also, in Galilee, where I attended the celebration of one of their annual festivals, I saw groups of them reading in this manner, each one for himself, around the tombs of their ancient rabbins. They accompany the act with a swinging motion of the head, and often indeed, of the entire upper part of the body, from one side to the other, and utter the words with a tone which comes nearer to cantillation or singing, than to our unimpassioned mode of reading. This would seem to have been an immemorial usage in the East; and it explains a circumstance in Luke's account of the interview between Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch, which an occidental reader might almost look upon as a fiction, introduced to preserve the consistency of the narrative. The Evangelist approaches the chariot of the eunuch, and finds the way already provided for his entering into conversation with him, and leading his mind to those views of the gospel which result in his ready adoption of the Christian faith. The Ethiopian officer was not only reading "Esaias the prophet," but reading aloud; the Evangelist heard him, and "then opened his mouth, and began at the same Scripture and preached unto him Jesus." Had the conversion of the Ethiopian taken place in a western country, the train of circumstances which accompanied the event, must have been very differently arranged.

USE OF THE WORD "BROTHER."

The application of this word in the Scriptures is much more extensive than it is in the languages of the western nations. The manner in which it is employed sometimes, has not only excited surprise, but seemed almost to justify the charge of inadvertence or inconsistency on the part of

the sacred writers. Thus, in Gen. 14: 16, Lot is called the brother of Abraham, but in Gen. 11: 31, he is said to have been his brother's son, *i. e.*, his nephew. In Gen. 29: 11, Jacob tells Rachel that he was "her father's brother," but according to Gen. 28: 6, Laban was not Jacob's brother, as we use the term, but the brother of Rebekah, his mother. The word has a loose sense, probably, in Gal. 1: 19. In 2 Sam. 19: 13, "brother" denotes a person of the same tribe; in Judges 14: 3, one of the same country, and in Job 6: 15, a friend or associate. Other examples might be added to these. But this use of the term, foreign as it is to our mode of employing it, is entirely consistent with the practice of the East at the present day. The Orientals extend the term "brother," so far at least as the name is concerned, not only to remote degrees of relationship, as uncles, cousins, nephews, but to friends and acquaintances where there is no bond of natural affinity. As I was on the eve of leaving Alexandria, a Syrian came to me and commended to my special favor the person who had been engaged as dragoman for the journey to Palestine, alleging as a reason for manifesting so much interest in his behalf, that the man was his brother. Some days after this I was making some inquiries of the dragoman respecting his brother, in terms which showed that I had understood the word in its strictest sense. "But you are mistaken," said the dragoman; "the man is not my brother in that sense; he is only a fellow-townsmen and a friend."

The traveler Landner relates an amusing instance of the oriental latitude in the use of this term: "Our interpreter told us," he says, "that a brother of his begged our permission to come and see us. Of course, we expected to see a gentleman enter; but judge of our surprise, when the 'brother' proved to be a woman."

AN EASTERN BED.

In returning to Jerusalem from an expedition to the Dead Sea, I lodged a night in the convent of San Saba, so romantically situated on the banks of the brook Kedron. My bed consisted merely of a bolster and a blanket spread on the floor. The latter could be drawn partially over the body if any one wished, though the expectation seemed to be that we should sleep in our ordinary dress, without any additional covering. Such a bed is obviously a portable one; it is easy to take it up, fold it together, and carry it from place to place as convenience may require. The allusions in the Bible show that the couches or beds in use among the Jews were

of different kinds; that they were more or less simple, more or less expensive, according to the rank or circumstances of different persons. Anciently, however, as at the present time in the East, the common people slept on a light mattress or blanket, with a pillow perhaps, but without any other appendage. The term "bed" has this meaning in various passages. It was an article of this description that the paralytic used whom the Saviour directed to "rise, take up his bed and walk."

SHUTTING THE GATES OF JERUSALEM AT NIGHT.

In returning from an excursion to Neby Samuil, probably the Mizpah of Scripture, two hours north of Jerusalem, the day proved to be well nigh spent: we had consumed more time than we had supposed, and were obliged to ride as rapidly as the rugged path would allow; for the gates of Jerusalem are closed punctually at sundown, (except St. Stephen's, which remains open half an hour later,) and we were in danger, consequently, of arriving too late to be admitted. This practice of shutting the gates is not peculiar, of course, to Jerusalem, or to eastern cities, and is not mentioned as anything novel; but it was not without its interest, surely, to be reminded of the existence of the custom, under just such circumstances. It was adapted to call to mind the application of the fact which the writer of the Apocalypse has made in his description of the heavenly Jerusalem: "The city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day;* for there shall be no night there." (Rev. 21: 23, 25.)

THE ANCIENT LANDMARK.

In proceeding from Anata to Neby Samuil, we left the beaten path and struck across the cultivated fields, for the purpose of shortening the distance. We encountered no obstruction in doing this; for though the gardens and vineyards are usually surrounded by a stone wall or hedge of prickly pear, the grain fields, on the contrary, though they belong to different proprietors, are not separated by any inclosure from each other. The boundary between them is indicated by heaps of small stones, or sometimes by a single upright stone,

* It is said *by day*, because time there is one perpetual day, uninterrupted by any night, as is shown by the following clause.

placed at intervals of a rod or more from each other. This is the ancient landmark of which we read in the Old Testament. It is obvious that a dishonest man could remove these stones a few feet, without its being readily perceived, and thus enlarge his own field by encroaching on that of another. It is with reference to this species of dishonesty, that Moses says, (Deut. 27 : 17,) "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark, and all the people shall say, Amen." So in Deut. 19 : 14, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's boundary which they of old time have established;" and in Prov. 22 : 28, "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set up." This mode of dividing one field from another, explains, also, the peculiar phraseology in Ruth 2 : 3. It was the lot of Ruth, it is said there, "to light on a part of the field belonging to Boaz;" *i. e.*, it was an open cultivated tract of country where she went to glean, and the particular part of it to which her steps were directed, was a part that belonged to her kinsman.

SEED BY THE ROAD-SIDE.

It may be mentioned in connection with the previous illustration, that the common roads or paths in the East, lead often along the margin of the fields; and hence, as the sower scatters his seed, some of it is liable to fall beyond the plowed portion, on the hard, beaten ground which forms the wayside. I recollect that in proceeding from Gophna to Bethel, we left the more open way and followed for some distance, one of these intermediate paths between the adjacent fields. This circumstance explains a trait in the Parable of the Sower, which would be quite unintelligible if viewed simply in the light of such agricultural usages as exist among us. See Matt. 13 : 3, 4: "A sower went forth to sow; and as he sowed, some *seeds* fell by the way-side, and the fowls came and devoured them up." The rocky nature of the soil in almost every part of Palestine, though it is generally very productive, gives special significance to another feature of the parable. "Some seeds fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth; and forthwith they sprang up because they had no deepness of earth. And when the sun was up they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away."

NARROW PATHS.

In the vicinity of Beit Hanina, a village near Jerusalem, we passed through several narrow paths which lay between

the stone walls inclosing the noble vineyards and orchards which exist there. We were obliged to advance in single file; the space was hardly large enough to allow the horse or donkey with his rider to proceed; and even then, some caution was needed to prevent the feet from being crushed against the projecting stones. We were reminded of Balaam's adventure. It may have been in some such pass as these that the prophet found himself wedged up, when his mule could neither advance nor turn aside, because an unseen adversary obstructed his way.

SKIN AND LEATHER BOTTLES.

The use of skin bottles prevails still very extensively in all parts of western Asia, though earthen bottles are also common, and were so no doubt, in early times. I did not happen to notice them at Alexandria, where my introduction to oriental life began; but at Cairo, I saw them at almost every turn in the streets, and on the backs of the water-carriers between that city and Bulak, its port on the Nile. After that, I met with them constantly wherever I traveled, both in Egypt and Syria. They are made of the skins of animals, especially of the goat, and in various forms. They are more commonly made so as to retain the figure of the animal from which the skin is taken. The process is said to be this: they cut off the head of the goat, kid, or sheep, as the case may be, and then strip off the skin whole from the body, without cutting it except at the extremities. The neck constitutes the mouth of the bottle, and the only places that need to be sewn up, being where the feet were cut off, the skin when distended with water has precisely the appearance or form of the animal to which it belonged. That bottles of this shape have been used in the eastern countries from the earliest antiquity; that they were common in the days of the patriarchs and the Pharaohs; I had an interesting proof in one of the tombs near the Ghizeh pyramids. Among the figures on the walls, I saw a goat-shaped bottle, as exactly like those now seen in Cairo, as if it had been painted from one of them by a modern artist. Bottles are also made of leather, dressed for the purpose, and are of various sizes, from the pouch containing two or three quarts, which the traveler may sling over his shoulder, to the ox-hide in which caravans preserve their supplies of water on long journeys, when they meet with brooks or cisterns only at distant intervals. In the course of time, such vessels become rigid and brittle; and hence arose the necessity of putting new wine into new bot-

tles, because it is only while they are fresh and flexible that they can withstand the pressure of fermentation: on the contrary, old wine which is past that process, may be put with safety into old bottles.

When these bottles from long continued use become rent or break away, they are sewed up or patches are added to them, and as the result of this process, they often present an exceedingly ragged and piebald appearance. With this fact before us we can understand the *ruse de guerre*, to which the Gibeonites resorted when they attempted to impose themselves on Joshua as strangers from a distant country. "They did work wilily and went and made as if they had been ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine bottles, old and rent, bound up; and old shoes and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them, and all the bread of their provision was dry and moldy: they went to Joshua at Gilgal," (but a few miles from their own homes) "and said unto him and the men of Israel, We be come from a far country; now, therefore, make ye a league with us." (Josh. 9: 4-6.)

LUKE'S ACCURACY IN ACTS 27: 6.

On the arrival of the apostle Paul at Myra, on the coast of Lycia, on his way to Rome, an Alexandrian ship was in the harbor there, having the same destination; and this ship, as we learn from Acts 27: 38, was a wheat ship. The season of the year when this vessel was there, we know from Acts 27: 9: it was near the close of summer, or early in September. That an Alexandrian wheat ship now should have been at Myra, just at this season of the year, offers a probable coincidence which is worthy of being remarked. At the present day, the active shipping season at Alexandria, commences about the first of August. The rise of the Nile is then so far advanced that the produce of the interior can be brought to that city, where it is shipped at once and sent to different parts of Europe. At the beginning of August of the last year, I saw it stated in the circular of a shipping house at Alexandria, that there were twelve vessels there taking on board grain cargoes, just received from Upper Eyypt. Thus it appears that the Alexandria ship mentioned by Luke, may have left Egypt not only after the grain harvest of the year had been gathered, (it is ripe at the end of March,) but just at the time when cargoes or the earliest cargoes of that kind could be obtained there; and further, that the ship would have had, after this, just about the time requisite for reaching Myra, when Paul's ship arrived at the same place.

ART. VI.—HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS AGE.

Hippolytus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus; and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity Compared. By C. C. J. BUNSEN, D. C. L. 4 vols. London: Longman, Brown & Co. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852.

M. VILLEMMAIN, a French scholar and statesman, sent a Greek to Mt. Athos to look for new treasures in Greek literature. The fruits of this mission were deposited, in 1842, in the National Library of France. Among them was a manuscript of the fourteenth century, on cotton paper. It contained no direct statement respecting its author or age, and was registered as a book "On all Heresies." Emanuel Miller, an eminent scholar and writer connected with that institution, examined this manuscript and in 1850 offered it to the university press at Oxford as a lost treatise of Origen "Against all Heresies." In the early part of 1851 it was published, and Bunsen at once investigated the work and, in several letters addressed to Archdeacon Hare, asserted the authenticity and great value of the new treasure, but urged at the same time by various arguments that Hippolytus instead of Origen was its author. These letters upon the authenticity and authorship of the new treatise constitute the first volume of Bunsen's Hippolytus. That Origen was not the author of this newly discovered treatise is shown by such facts as these: no early writer ascribes such a work to him; the great Alexandrian never possessed the office of bishop claimed by the writer of this treatise; he was not a member of the Roman presbytery as was this writer; and his theological opinions differed from those expressed in the work "Against all Heresies."

On the other hand Bunsen shows: that a treatise similar to the one now discovered was ascribed to Hippolytus; that he was Bishop of Portus at the mouth of the Tiber; that he was an eminent writer and member of the Roman presbytery; and that the numerous allusions in this work correspond with his position. Eusebius (H. E. 22) mentions among the works of Hippolytus that "Against all Heresies"—πρὸς πάδας τὰς αἱρέσεις. Jerome does the same; Epiphanius cites him as one who wrote in refutation of the Valentinian heresies, re-

ferring probably to an important article in the new treatise; and Peter of Alexandria, who suffered martyrdom in 311, quotes a passage from the work of "Hippolytus the witness of the truth, the Bishop of Portus near Rome, 'Against all Heresies.'" To these we may add the testimony of Photius, "a scholar of immense erudition and sound judgment," who was made Patriarch of Constantinople in 858. In his *Bibliotheca*, which contains critical notices of two hundred and eighty volumes read by him during a residence of several years in Assyria, he uses the following language: "A little book of Hippolytus was read. Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. It is a treatise on *thirty-two heresies*, beginning with the *Dositheans*, and going down to *Noetus* and the *Noetians*. He says that Irenæus entered into a refutation of them in his Lectures, and that he, Hippolytus, made a synopsis of these, and thus composed this book," &c. Now it appears that just thirty-two heresies are disposed of in our book, and that many articles are copied word for word from Irenæus.* Bunsen verifies these facts by giving the names of all the heresies examined in the new treatise, with a brief statement of their peculiarities, and by putting the language of Irenæus side by side with that of the work "Against all Heresies." This latter work does not indeed begin with the *Dositheans* or end with the *Noetians*; it commences with the *Ophites* and concludes with the *Elchasaites*. But the *Elchasaites* heresy was an appendage to the *Noetian*, and the *Nassenes* or *Ophites* may have been also known as *Dositheans*. The Christian heresy was perhaps confounded with the Samaritan, for the fundamental errors of both were identical. We believe, therefore, that Bunsen is justified in ascribing this work to Hippolytus.

It appears that Prof. Jacobi of Berlin, Neander's favorite pupil, Dr. Thiersch now of Marburg, a learned historian, and Prof. Duncker of Göttingen, have, without any concert with Bunsen, arrived at substantially the same results. Thiersch and Duncker are fully decided respecting the authorship, and the latter proposes to issue an edition of the new treatise. We hope it will soon appear; and we must be allowed to express our regret that Bunsen has not given it in his work. We would gladly exchange his philosophical aphorisms for the Greek text of the treatise "Against all Heresies," though it were given without note or emendation.

But who was Hippolytus? Bunsen answers this question by showing that he was a pupil of Irenæus, and subsequently Bishop of Portus, opposite to Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber. This city was then the resort of merchants from every

part of the known world; oriental speculation, Greek philosophy, and Roman sense, all met for conflict or fusion on this spot no less than in the eternal city. Nearly every Christian heresy must have been here represented at some period of the bishop's life. Nearly every species of pagan philosophy and superstition must have possessed its votaries in this busy mart. Whether Hippolytus was a Greek or Roman may be uncertain; but he made constant use of the Greek language, as his voluminous writings testify, and by means of this almost universal medium of communication could hold intercourse with the multitudes who flocked from the four winds to the port of Rome. Familiar with Grecian literature, he was able to trace from this great fountain of mingled good and evil many heretical opinions which rent in pieces the infant church of Christ. Such a relation he has attempted to establish between several of the heresies refuted in the newly discovered treatise and the unsanctified but wonderful speculations of Hellenic philosophy. Hippolytus was a thoroughly practical, earnest Christian, and the first preacher of the western church whose homilies were committed to writing. He was a brave defender of the faith, not hesitating to oppose Callistus, Bishop of Rome, and denounce his doctrine as anti-christian; nor shrinking to encounter the fury of paganism and seal his fidelity with blood. He appears to have suffered martyrdom in 236, when the persecution of Maximin the Thracian began. First banished with Pontianus to Sardinia, "the unwholesome island," we must suppose, in order to reconcile the accounts of his end, that he returned to Portus after the death of his companion in exile, and here in the midst of his own flock, like the illustrious Polycarp, received the crown of martyrdom. We do not know his age at this time. But it can hardly have been less than threescore; for the period of "Commodus—from 188 to 192—is familiar with him."

In the remaining three volumes of his work, Bunsen endeavors to reproduce for his readers the Christian belief and worship of Hippolytus and his contemporaries. Without regard to the order observed in these volumes, we shall bring forward and examine several views maintained by our learned author.

The *Canon of Scripture* embraced, in his opinion, at that time, all the books of the Old Testament; the four Gospels; the Acts, by Luke; thirteen letters written by Paul; six catholic epistles, namely, one by James, one (the first) by Peter, three by John, one by Jude, the Epistle to the Hebrews by Apollos, a friend of Paul; and the Apocalypse by St. John.

Bunsen's opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally directed to Christian Jews residing in Alexandria, is neither supported by the contents of this noble letter nor by the consent of the best interpreters. In the belief that Apollos was its author he agrees with the later German critics and ventures to advocate a view totally unknown to the early ages of Christianity. We do not think a sound argument can be adduced in support of this Lutheran conjecture. Paul, in the comparative leisure of his first imprisonment in Rome, and after obtaining assurance of his approaching liberation, may have elaborated this letter to his Hebrew brethren in a style of composition more elegant than was usual with him. Or, after full discussion of the matter with Luke, and after dictating the most important sentences to him, the latter may have written the Epistle. Either of these suppositions is preferable to the one which is current in Germany. According to either, those addressed would look upon the letter as a communication from the Apostle, and the belief of its Pauline origin, spread through all the eastern churches, would be explained. Ebrard, in his recent commentary, ably defends the latter view, and the literary characteristics of this letter point, we think, to Luke as the writer.

Bunsen omits the Second Epistle of Peter, and it must be confessed that the external testimony in favor of this letter is not entirely decisive. Hippolytus and his contemporaries can hardly be shown to have accepted it as a work of the great Apostle of the Circumcision. Yet it was used in public worship with the First Epistle of Peter, and the peculiarities of its style appear to have occasioned the doubts respecting it.*

Bunsen deals many a blow upon the doctors of Tübingen, who deny the apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel. They richly deserve the castigation he inflicts. The work of Hippolytus "Against all Heresies" proves that strange speculations on the Logos were current among heretical Christian sects before the close of the first century, and thus overthrows the main pillar of the Tübingen argument. The prologue of this Gospel was as much needed at the end of the first century as at the end of the second. Extracts in this treatise of Hippolytus contain quotations from the fourth Gospel, which must have been made by Basilides about the year 120.

* See Davidson's and Hug's Introduction for a fuller statement.

Bunsen repeatedly testifies that the only baptism known to the primitive church was the immersion of believers. His language on this point is honest and manly. He asserts that trine immersion was practiced; that deacons assisted the men, and deaconesses the women, to take off their ornaments and put on the baptismal dress; and that between the several immersions the neophytes responded "I believe," to a confession of faith in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Infant baptism was unknown to the apostolic church. When Origen speaks of little children as sometimes admitted to baptism, he always refers to those from "six to ten years of age," who were large enough "to go down into the baptismal bath." "Tertullian's opposition is to the baptism of young, growing children; he does not say one word about new-born infants." "Cyprian impelled by a fanatical enthusiasm and assisted by a bad interpretation of the Old Testament, was the first Father who established infant baptism as a principle." This Father "viewed baptism in the light of a washing away of the universal sinfulness of human nature, connected this idea with the rite of circumcision, but thought the *second day* of life safer than the eighth." His "time engendered both the baptism of new-born infants and the communion of children in the arms of their mothers." Our author speaks of the "Camel of pedobaptism swallowed by the Reformed Church" and calls this ceremony the "shadow of a Jewish custom." He hesitates not to declare that the "Western Church under the guidance of Rome abolished, together with adult baptism, its symbol immersion, and introduced sprinkling in its stead." He concedes that Baptists are right in their administration of the ordinance, but believes "they are inclined to attach to their own form a superstitious power, by which the efficacy of a continually renewed faith is thrown into the background." Alas! if it be so. Yet Bunsen presumes it will appear wise, upon closer and deeper reflection, to retain pedobaptism; understanding, however, our act of baptism to form a whole, commenced by sprinkling the child and concluded by confirmation, when the infant has become an intelligent young Christian.

This then is the result! Though every deviation from the primitive ordinance has thus far, in the opinion of our author, been a perversion destructive to genuine piety, yet, sure of his own wisdom, he believes it possible so to employ and explain infant sprinkling that it will retain the full significance of believer's baptism. In setting forth the *modus operandi*, he silently assumes that the symbolical import of

affusion or sprinkling is equivalent to that of immersion. This is after all not very obvious, and we should have been glad to know the exact grounds for such an assumption in the mind of one who affirms, that immersion only was practiced by the apostles and primitive Christians. He then insists that the ordinance actually performed on the infant, should be regarded as not really complete until, after the lapse of many years, the child becomes a new creature in Christ and thus experiences that of which the rite is an emblem. For Bunsen clearly perceives that baptism was designed to be an emblem of what has already taken place in the soul and not a type of something yet to be realized. He is therefore forced to give up infant baptism wholly or partially, to deny the propriety of applying the ordinance at all to such as have not believed, or to deny that it is complete and significant apart from a subsequent transaction. Is Bunsen ready to modify the formula of baptism according to his view? to have the officiating clergyman say: "I now commence the baptism of this child in the name," &c., and at the time of confirmation years afterward, "I now complete the baptism," &c.? Such a change in the formula would be likely to prevent misconception on the part of unlettered Christians; though it might lead some of them to call in question the wisdom of those who deal thus with the words and institutions of Christ. They might even think it strange that a portion at least of the external rite was not reserved till the hour of confirmation, since it could have no real and appropriate meaning before.

We can not repress the feeling that all who venture, like Bunsen, to modify intentionally an institution of Christ, violate to some extent the principle of Christian faith. That principle requires us to put the wisdom of God far above our own. It does not encourage the practice of surveying the "straight and narrow way" prescribed by Him, with a view to making it shorter or smoother. If the Saviour has directed his friends to pass over the hill Difficulty, evangelical faith will never suggest the advantage of putting a tunnel through it. Under the influence of such faith we should conclude God's way the best, though our feeble minds were to fail of discovering the particulars of its superiority over all others. This topic may be closed with the following words of Bunsen, illustrating finely his emancipation from the letter: "As to the society of Friends, it certainly can only be said by ignorant people that they reject baptism altogether: for they most stringently insist upon spiritual baptism in the sense of the Gospel, the being immersed and

buried with Christ. The misunderstanding which is the origin of their discontinuance of baptism has arisen, according to the laws of reaction, from the prevalence of a materialistic view of baptism in the national church out of which that society took its origin."

It will be more difficult for us to exhibit Bunsen's doctrine of the *Holy Supper*. He treats this matter *ex animo*, and with his usual prolixity. Yet, apart from some doubtful passages, we think his views may be comprised in the following statements.

1. Christ made a perfect everlasting atonement. He was the real propitiatory victim. His whole life was a continual sacrifice consummated and sealed by his death on the cross.

2. The Christian in gratitude for what he is by divine grace, offers himself as a living sacrifice to God. There is no expiatory sacrifice in this; a sacrifice of thanksgiving is all which he can offer. This, however, is the grand spiritual act of the eucharist. Christians in devout worship present themselves as an acceptable offering to the Father of spirits; they are the victim or host; and the self-sacrifice which they make, by resigning their own will to that of God in order to be delivered from sin and to advance his kingdom—which self-sacrifice is set forth by presenting the bread and wine—is an efficacious and valid *act*, acceptable to him.*

3. It is such, however, only by virtue of their brotherhood with Christ, or their incorporation into Him as the living Head. Without such a union the act would be useless, rash, condemnatory. The ascended Redeemer is the perpetual High Priest of the faithful, and through his mediation their prayers and self-devotion become a sacrifice well pleasing to God.

4. Hence, this spiritual act of the pious should be associated in their minds with the sole and perfect expiation of Christ. Accordingly, bread and wine are employed in the eucharist to bring his work to remembrance, and connect the service of a thankful self-surrender on the part of believers with the efficacious atonement made by Jesus, the "First-born among many brethren."

Now if we have apprehended the views of Chevalier Bunsen correctly, he does not give sufficient prominence to the

* "The people bring bread and wine as a sacred offering. This oblation is a sign of thanksgiving and a symbol of the internal act of sacrifice of the believers and of their vow and pledge to dedicate themselves to God. They invoke his blessing for their sanctification, and in this sense his spirit is called down upon the elements offered for the commemoration of Christ's death."

See also iii. 264.

commemorative design of the ordinance. He insists upon its sacrificial character, though not a word of this is found in the New Testament. What believers *do* and not what they *receive* occupies his attention and seems almost to exhaust the significance of this sacrament. To pretend that the elements by consecration become the real body and blood of Christ and that his expiatory sacrifice is continually repeated at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Bunsen perceives to be absurd, unscriptural and impious; but misled by certain metaphysical expressions of the New Testament, which have no special reference to the ordinance in question, he finds a victim in the community of participants self-consecrated to God, and represented, it would seem, by their oblation of bread and wine. Thus the idea of sacrifice is retained. And it is certainly better for Christians to make of themselves a spiritual offering to the Father than to attempt with blasphemous incantations, a reproduction of Christ's human nature only to "crucify the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame." We will go farther and say, no time seems more appropriate for a fresh surrender of self and a solemn dedication of soul and body, as living sacrifices unto God, than when we are about to celebrate the life-giving atonement of Christ. This was felt by the early Christians. When called to receive the emblems of Christ's passion and to remember the sacrifice which he had made for their redemption, they were deeply conscious of personal duty and appropriated the earnest words of Paul: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." To this entreaty they responded by "offering themselves in charity and love," to the service of Christ, and through evil report as well as good report, in the face of peril as well as of peace, they illustrated the sincerity of their vow and the power of their faith. We do not wonder at the prominence which was given by the early church to this idea of self-sacrifice in connection with the eucharist.

Nevertheless, we are satisfied that Bunsen has failed to appreciate the fundamental thought of the Holy Supper. For the New Testament leads us to something like the following view of this ordinance. The elements are emblems which appeal to one of our senses, as the narratives of Christ's death do to another, and aid us to imagine more perfectly and to feel more deeply his sufferings in our behalf; while the *reception* of the elements expresses symbolically the fact, that his broken body and shed blood are the source of life to

us. In other words we commemorate his atonement and solemnly profess that his death is our life, that by a vital union with him as the atoning Lamb, we hope for justification and glory. Hence the sacrament is a thankful acknowledgment of what we *receive* through the dying love of Christ. It is a commemoration of what He has done and suffered in our behalf. It is an invitation to follow Him in spirit, from Zion to Gethsemane and hear in the mournful darkness his prayer of anguish, to stand beside him in the palace and the judgment hall, to behold him fainting under the burden of his own cross, and to listen with breathless awe to those words of immense woe, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." And then it is a solemn acknowledgment of the fact, that our spiritual life springs from this suffering Redeemer, that only by receiving him in faith as our expiation, by appropriating, through a spiritual union with Him as "the true vine," the virtue of his atonement, are we quickened from the death of sin and made immortal in the favor of God. The holy supper is therefore a commemorative ordinance. It teaches the doctrine of free grace. But this doctrine suitably applied to a renovated spirit produces gratitude, love, self-devotion. Bunsen has mistaken the effect of an act for the act itself; the pious emotions and purposes inspired by a sacramental remembrance of Christ's death for that remembrance itself. That which is incidental he has made fundamental; that which must accompany the sacrament when properly received, he has been led to pronounce the very center and soul of the sacrament itself. We can not hesitate to say this in spite of the learning and eloquence which Bunsen has employed in support of his view. The act of self-sacrifice regarded by him as the central idea of the Lord's Supper, is indeed noticed in prayers for this service used, perhaps, before the time of Hippolytus. But so, at the present day, do Protestants who deem the ordinance commemorative, ever pray in celebrating it to be made more thankful, self-sacrificing and devoted to God. We do not think the 23d canon of the third Carthaginian Council: "Ut nemo in precibus patrem pro filio, vel filium pro patrie, nominet. *Et quum altari adsistitur, semper ad patrem dirigitur oratio;*" at all decisive in favor of our author's view. Nor are the words of Ignatius free from ambiguity. Augustine insists more largely upon the favorite idea of Bunsen, and at first sight his language appears clear and strong: "The church is taught that, in that thing which she offers up, in the sacrament of the altar, *she herself is offered up.*" These words seem to make the bread and wine symbols of

the church itself. Neander says, in reference to this passage: "The true sacrifice consists, according to Augustine, in this: that the soul consumed by the fire of divine love, consecrates itself wholly to God. All actions which flow from such a temper are, in this sense, sacrifices. The whole redeemed city of God, is the universal offering presented to God by the High Priest who has offered himself for us, that we, following his example, might become the body of so great a head. This, the celebration of Christ's sacrifice in the holy supper represents; in the sacrifice of Christ, the church at the same time presents itself as a sacrifice to God. That is, the living celebration of the memory of Christ's sacrifice, in Christian communion, necessarily includes in it, that they who are united together by faith in the Redeemer, should in spirit follow the Saviour, and as they have been redeemed, in order wholly to belong to Him, give themselves unreservedly to God. Elsewhere Augustine styles the Lord's Supper an offering in *this* sense, that it is the sacrament which celebrates the remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ."* It is to be remembered that Augustine was born in the year 354, more than a century after the death of Hippolytus. The doctrine of the sacrament was already undergoing a process of transition to the later Catholic view. Yet, Chrysostom, by seven years the senior of Augustine, holds the evangelical doctrine: "Though we offer, it is only in the sense of *celebrating the memory of Christ's death*. We ever present the same offering; or rather we *celebrate the memory of that one offering*."

But no subject is treated in these volumes more fully than that of Liturgies. The learned author appears to have investigated the facts bearing upon this part of his work with great thoroughness. The collection of ancient liturgies which he has given in the fourth volume is truly interesting and valuable. It illustrates the theological opinions and devotional feelings characteristic of the churches at Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Rome and Gaul, at different periods in their history. We can not do better than to give, mainly in his own words, the substance of several passages indicating the result of his researches.

The first written Liturgy attempted merely to present a suggestive outline or general frame-work to assist in extemporization. Formularies began to be used, with great local and individual liberty, about the middle of the second cen-

* Neander, ii. p. 332. Aug. De. Civ. Dei., x. 6.

ture. The first record of the eucharistic service was in its details, necessarily rather a representation of the substance of what used generally to be said in the free prayers, than a literal copy of any fixed form. The period from 100 to 170 may be called the first liturgical epoch. A beautiful specimen from this period is preserved in the Abyssinian Constitutions. The ground-work is evangelical; the form apostolic; the language biblical and replete with allusions to the prophets and psalms; and the style is one of great simplicity, with a nascent attempt at giving the sentences a Hellenic turn.

In the second period, extending from 170 to 254, the Liturgy is no longer traditional, but a work of composition. It is no longer suggestive of a text which may be enlarged upon by the meditation of the individual and by the inspiration of the moment, but it is as extended as any free prayer can be. It reduces to writing what such a meditation and such an inspiration would produce if severely digested and concentrated. But it does so rather as a model than as a fixed formulary. There is still place for free prayer, and for silent prayer. Liberty is not yet extinct, though restricted. The best recorded and most splendid specimen of this epoch is the enlarged Alexandrian Liturgy. Its most striking part is the general prayer for Christ's church. This is decidedly artistic, and of the best patristic Greek. It represents the culminating point of ancient liturgical composition and intellectual devotion. A comparison of it with the Liturgy contained in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions will show its excellence. This hybrid production, belonging to the age before the Nicene Council, "presents instead of apostolic simplicity, a rhetorical development which degenerates into turgid verbosity. Even at the best, it is a sermon addressed to God, going through the whole spiritual history of the world."

The Roman Liturgy was eclectic. Set prayers were not written down till after the middle of the fourth century, at the earliest. "Greek was the official language of all Roman bishops from Clement to Cornelius, (251,) and we hear nothing of a decided liturgical difference between Rome and other churches before the age of Augustine or the beginning of the fifth century." But at length the "seal of prosaic Roman solemnity" was put upon oriental forms, translated, condensed and petrified. This product was enlarged by incrustations from the middle ages. And the Liturgy of Rome deviates more from its original character than that of any western church. The words of institution are brought into

a prominence entirely foreign to the sense of ancient Christianity. The whole celebration of the mass is an act of the priest, who sacrifices the Lord's body and thus repeats the expiatory offering of Christ. To propitiate God and make a covenant with him under the most cautious, binding and solemn formularies, is the standing character of Roman religion.

But Bunsen does not confine himself to the past. His aim is a practical one. His voice is the trumpet of reform. He is a friend to liturgies and finds much to admire in the beautiful service of the Church of England. The book of Common Prayer he pronounces on the whole excellent, and characterizes the placing of it in the hands of a Christian nation as "a great and blessed thought." "No church in Christendom has carried out the liturgical ideas of the first ages with the same dignity and completeness." Yet the English Liturgy is by no means perfect. The ancient church recognized three kinds of prayer: silent prayer, free prayer, and here and there short forms sanctioned by custom, watch-words, as it were, either for the minister alone, or for the clergy and people conjointly. The English Liturgy excludes the first two kinds. This is a serious defect. For "there is a power in the living outpouring of the spirit by free prayer, and in a sermon delivered out of the fullness of faith and thought, which a set form and a written sermon do not possess." He speaks a plain word of those English writers who urge the letter of the past Nicene church. If they proposed it as a model of Christian wisdom and taste, their opinion might be very quietly discussed. But since they bring it forward as a sacred authority, we must first ask to what authority they refer? If to that of the primitive church, they can not maintain their position one moment, for the forms they idolize are unknown to that ancient church, and very often nothing but wrecks and misunderstandings of that primitive age. If they appeal to the authority of the Latin church, they must go to Rome before they have the right to do so.

Bunsen believes the sermon or the doctrinal element, predominates beyond all proportion in most Protestant churches. The Christian people are thus excluded from a just participation in the service, and instruction displaces worship. May it not be true that we Baptists, as well as Congregationalists and others, are deficient in this respect; that we undervalue or deny the importance of special preparation for reading the Scriptures and prayer? We are convinced, however, that Bunsen does not fully understand the working

of our system. Do not frequent social meetings, which elicit the coöperation of laymen, exist to a greater extent among us than among Episcopalians or Lutherans? Are not the members of our churches called, on the whole, to participate as largely in religious worship as those who use a liturgy and go through with the responses? Moreover, does not our mode elicit more of the life and energy of true Christian devotion?

Upon the subject of ecclesiastical government Bunsen's testimony may be thus given. In the earliest age of Christianity, every separate congregation was a church. Paul, Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp understood the congregation to be the highest organ of ecclesiastical power. It might be governed by a council of elders, presided over at a later period in many places by a bishop; yet the ultimate decision in important emergencies rested with the whole congregation. In the time of Hippolytus each church still elected its bishop. But gradually a hierarchy was formed. Country bishops were associated in council with those holding office in large towns. The influence of the town or city bishop steadily grew. Clerical union and ambition encroached upon the rights of the congregation. At length the latter was shorn of all power and the hierarchy became absolute master of the church. In this respect the Church of Rome and the Church of England are alike; the body of Christian people have no voice in ecclesiastical affairs. They are meekly to accept what the priesthood are graciously inclined to give. This Bunsen esteems deplorable enough. Yet he would not restore throughout the constitution of the primitive church. Some parts of it are obsolete and inapplicable. Such a reform is needed as will give us the episcopate with a vigorous congregational organization. "These two institutions have an undying vitality," Synods should be composed of representatives from both the clergy and the laity. The latter are entitled to the right of exercising their legislative veto by themselves. "Bishops elected or nominated without the coöperation of the synod, have no natural ecclesiastical basis." Moreover, it is unwise to aim at strict uniformity in the church constitution of different countries or denominations. Such uniformity would be fatal to spiritual freedom and evangelical union.

In these views of Bunson we find much to approve. Though shaded by several passing clouds, there is real sunlight upon them. They recognize the existence of a Christian people, possessed of spiritual rights and duties. And when it is remembered, that their author has been associa-

ted principally with ecclesiastical establishments which consign all power to the clergy, the value of his testimony is enhanced. We only wish he was ready to plead for the episcopacy, diaconate and congregation just as they existed in the days of Paul or John. But we are far enough from regretting that he has not followed the example of such as adopt a theory of church government, and then by exegetical and historical violence, wrench and torture the Bible into some faint support of it.

Upon the desirableness of parish schools, for the moral and religious training of the young, Bunsen also speaks at considerable length. Without attempting to collect his arguments upon this subject it may be well to mention, that they presuppose the correctness of his views upon baptism, liturgies and church organization. They imply the doctrine that children blessed with Christian parents, and united in some sense to the church by baptism, are to be educated into piety; that the chanting of psalms and the repetition of liturgical forms will gradually insinuate the grace of God into the soul; but we can not be expected to acknowledge the soundness of any argument which rests on such a basis. It is to be feared, however, that some in our land are resolved upon the introduction and support of parish schools. We warn them to forbear. We believe that day which witnesses the general establishment of such schools among the various Christian denominations of this republic, will be a day of clouds and darkness to good men, a day of sadness and mourning to the friends of liberty, of charity, of Protestantism, of progress. It is a pleasure to believe that enlightened Christians of every name are generally in favor of public schools, and that only the more intolerant Roman Catholics and the fanatical Mormons insist upon educating their children apart from the profane multitude. Cincinnati has recently shown that public sentiment repudiates the idea of religious castes in our school system, and it is to be hoped that no body of Christians will be so unwise as to repeat the experiment tried in that city.

We have already once alluded to Bunsen's philosophical aphorisms—contained in the second volume. They are truly German, yet mostly within the reach of an English understanding, and worthy of a careful perusal. They illustrate the character of German speculation upon theology and religion. They offer much food to reflection, and along with many views which are doubtful or erroneous, they contain deep and beautiful thoughts. Still this part of our author's work appears, on the whole, to be out of place in a

special historical treatise. It should have been published separately or as the introduction to a general history of religion. That is, to correspond with our notions of order; but a German book is likely to be as different from an English one, as the Cathedral of Strasburg is from a neat American church. In the vast spaces and dim retreats of the former, many grotesque figures may pass unnoticed, which could find no suitable place in the latter.

Hippolytus' Confession of Faith, the Apostles' Creed, several Hymns of the early Christians and the apostolic canons, are here printed in the original languages. They greatly increase the worth of these volumes, and open a broad field deserving quite as much attention as the English territory, which the writer of this article has endeavored to traverse. In this connection an admirable use might be made of the learned work of Dr. Chase, published a few years since, with reference to the apostolic canons as presented and explained in the volumes under review. This, however, we are compelled from the want of space to decline. It may, however, be proper to say, that those who have leisure to peruse the ancient Liturgies, Canons, Hymns, &c., just mentioned, will be amply rewarded for their labor, and will feel themselves greatly indebted to the learned author for giving these documents a place in his work.

Bunsen comes before us as an English writer, yet he is a German. It can not therefore be thought strange that many of his sentences are liable to criticism. This might have been overlooked, if the volumes in question did not furnish evidence of his ability to use our language with precision, neatness and force. But with this evidence before us, we are compelled to charge the diffuseness, repetition and awkwardness which characterize so generally the style of this work to the unwarranted haste with which it was written. Making all due allowance for the space otherwise occupied, still the portion of these four volumes actually written for the first time by Chevalier Bunsen is far more than any man ought to prepare for the press in a single year. Why are we required to purchase and read twenty pages for information or argument, which might be clearly and eloquently expressed in the compass of ten? May we not commend the "golden rule" to the consciences of men who bind this grievous burden upon us?

Of Bunsen himself, this work upon Hippolytus gives us a very distinct conception. He is learned, earnest, truthful, believing. The following passage directed against those who decry investigation, illustrates his spirit: "There is

strength in Christian discipline, if freely accepted by those who are to submit to it; there is strength in spiritual authority, if freely acknowledged by those who care for Christ; there is strength unto death in the enthusiasm of an unenlightened people, if sincere, and connected with lofty moral ideas. But there is no strength to be compared with that of a faith which identifies moral and intellectual with religious belief; with that of an authority instituted by such a faith, and of a Christian life based upon it, and striving to Christianize this world of ours. Let those who are sincere but timid, look into their conscience, and ask themselves whether their timidity proceeds from faith, or whether it does not rather betray a want of faith. If Christ speaks truth, his words must speak to the human reason and conscience wherever they are preached; let them, therefore, be preached." After this manner Bunsen pours out his soul in defense of religious liberty, profound study, and living piety. He fails to arrange and compress his arguments; nor does he clothe his thoughts in beautiful imagery; he certainly does not charm his readers by appeals to self-interest; he does not entertain high views of inspiration or believe in the personality of the Holy Spirit; and all these things detract from the pleasure and profit connected with a perusal of his work: but he utters boldly the facts of early history, and shows himself a whole-hearted defender of Christian faith and life; he proclaims with a manly decision the impotence of sacerdotal manipulations, to effect a transmission of miraculous power or divine right; he urges the need of more knowledge and more Christianity; he honors the Messiah as our Atoning Sacrifice, and believes that his Gospel will yet renovate the world; and these are golden virtues in a writer, making "*Hippolytus and his Age*" a truly valuable and interesting contribution to church history.*

* We are happy to state that the Messrs. Appleton, of New York, have imported a large quantity of this valuable work, and that they intend to furnish it at a price which is merely nominal—only a little more than half that for which it has been hitherto sold.

ART. VII.—THE CATHOLICS AND THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

The Works of William H. Seward. Edited by GEORGE E. BAKER. 3 vols. 8vo. New York: Redfield. 1853.

Popular Education for the use of Parents and Teachers. Prepared and published in accordance with a resolution of the Legislature of the State of Michigan. By IRA MAYHEW, A. M., late Superintendent of Public Instruction. New Edition. New York: D. Burgess & Co. 1853.

Educational Institutions of the United States; their Character and Organization. By Dr. P. A. SILJISTRÖM. Translated from the Swedish by FREDERICA ROWAN. Small 8vo. London: John Chapman. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853.

Forty-Second Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public School Society of New York, with a sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Society. New York. 1848.

Common Schools. A Discourse on the Modifications demanded by the Roman Catholics. Delivered in the North Congregationalist Church, Hartford, on the day of the late Fast, March 25, 1853. By HORACE BUSHNELL. Hartford: E. Hunt & Son. 1853.

History of the State of New York. By JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD. First Period. 1609-1664. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853.

It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that just as the Popular Educational Institutions of this country are beginning to attract the attention, and win the respect of enlightened men in the Old World, a systematic effort should be set on foot here to retard their efficiency, if not to effect their ruin, by destroying their catholic character, and making them the propagandists of a sect. That the measures which the Papists are now pursuing, in relation to our common schools, are the result of system and combination is manifest from the fact that, from New York to Cincinnati, from Baltimore to Detroit, they are enlisted in the same crusade, and are promoting it by the same means. They commenced the attack in the city of New York, about ten years ago, by complaining of the use of the common English version of

the Bible in the public school of that city, and by demanding, on that ground, a separate allowance from the school fund, to support schools of their own, to be conducted according to the views of their church, and for its special benefit. The inappropriateness of the corrective which they thus proposed to apply to the assumed evil which was set forth as the ground of their complaint, was at once apparent to all practical men; and instead of deliberating about the remedy demanded by the malcontents, the public authorities thought it better to go to the root of the difficulty, and displace the Bible from their public schools. Whatever regrets Protestants may feel that such a measure should have been deemed necessary, all lovers of our common school system will agree that it was fraught with less mischief than the one demanded by the Papists. It was an evil to take the Bible from the schools, but it would have been a greater evil to have sanctioned a system of sectarian schools to be supported by general taxation, or by the common funds of the people. The Bible was, therefore, banished from the leading public schools of the city. But this measure, so repugnant to the judgment and sympathies of the Protestants, instead of satisfying the exacting spirits who had demanded it, was made, by a most glaring, but characteristic, inconsistency, the occasion of a new and more plausible attack. The schools were now decried as anti-christian. From pulpit and press and platform they were branded as "secular," "heathen," and "godless." And so deep is the grief of Archbishop Hughes, over what he is pleased to regard as the heathenizing tendency of our common schools, that he has publicly declared that he would accept for the children of his flock, such a religious education as the most erring Christian sect in the country would offer them, rather than to have them trained in the schools of New York, as these schools are now conducted. We sympathize deeply with the sentiment to which the Archbishop has given such pungent utterance, though we are not ready to adopt the alternative which he suggests, at least without further thought. The claims of religion should be recognized in our systems of primary instruction; its leading truths and its great sanctions should be kept before the minds of the young; but in all this, its integrity should be preserved. There are many systems of religion, calling themselves Christian, which we would no more have our children imbibe, than the philosophy of Confucius or the creed of Mohammed: infidelity itself has scarcely greater terror for us than a paganized Christianity. But we can not forbear to suggest the inquiry that, if

the schools of New York are such as Archbishop Hughes describes them, who, more than any other man, is responsible for their anti-christian character? If they do present an instance of the divorce of secular from sacred instruction, at whose instigation was the unholy deed done? Let the conscience of the adroit and wily prelate answer. It is perfectly clear, and it may as well be said, that this functionary and his coadjutors intend that our common schools shall become papal in their teachings and tendencies, or be superseded. This is the end of the effort which they are now putting in motion.

We commenced this article with the statement of a coincidence; but there remains one to be mentioned still more remarkable. We allude to the publication of Mr. Seward's collected works, just at the present juncture when the Romanists are making a fresh attempt to demoralize our common schools. His position in reference to the Papal movement, to which we have alluded above, is generally known. It can not have been forgotten that he lent all the weight of his official influence, as Governor of the State of New York, as well as all the force of his great talents, to the success of that movement. The most devoted Papist could hardly have entered into the contest with more earnestness, or have sustained it with greater resolution. And now just as the subjects of the papacy are rallying themselves for a more general attack on our common school system, these volumes come forth, reaffirming and defending the views which he then uttered. The coincidence is at least curious, and it is none the less so, because it is probably undesigned.

Mr. Seward has long been known in his native State, as one of her ablest and most accomplished politicians. His reputation has now come to be national, and his powers are even superior to his reputation. To great versatility of endowment he adds liberal attainments, large experience in public life, and unrivaled tact and skill. No man is more independent in his conclusions, or more inflexible and energetic in maintaining them. It is the more to be regretted, therefore, that he should have assumed a false position on the question at issue between the Catholics and the public schools of the several cities and states of the republic. If he were a less enlightened man, and if we did not place so high an estimate on his integrity, we should be inclined to say that his adherence to his former position on this question reminds us of Dr. Sangrado's argument for the continuance of the practice of blood-letting and hot water, in spite of its unfortunate results to his patients. But the persistence of

Mr. Seward in this case is by no means singular. In reference to all the great questions which have agitated the public mind, during the last twenty years, he has exhibited the same characteristic. On the slavery question, on internal improvements, on the tariff, and similar subjects, he stands to-day where he has always stood. The goodly volumes before us, though composed at different periods of his political life, and under the pressure of different circumstances, are put forth in 1853, without abridgment or alteration, as the statement and defense of his present opinions, on the important subjects which have claimed his attention as a public man. Few statesmen can present so consistent a record of their official lives. We honor his independence even in those instances where we feel compelled to question his conclusions. His works are an honor to American statesmanship as well as a contribution to American literature, and will serve to raise the reputation which he has acquired both at home and abroad. We admire his abilities and respect his integrity. We allow him to possess, in a large degree, the true stuff that heroes are made of. Often opposing himself to the prejudices of the masses, always in advance of his time, he never shrinks from a measure because it is unpopular, nor trims his sails to the breezes of public favor. This is indeed high praise, but we think it is due to Mr. Seward. Certainly no man ever deserved the epithet of demagogue less. That it should have been applied to him, in reference to this question, or any other on which he has been called to act during his public career, is evidence of the licentiousness of the times, rather than a reproach to him. So much, candor demands that we should concede to the accomplished son of New York. But having cheerfully made this award, we regret that in every other particular relating to the subject in hand, we are compelled to deny him our confidence.

In the discussion which we have undertaken, it will assist us somewhat to go back to the origin of our common school system. It is desirable to understand its original character, the objects which it contemplated, the modifications to which it has been subjected, and its present position. We shall thus see in a clearer light the true mission of the institution, and be able to determine the effect which a compliance with the demands of the Papists will have upon it.

The common school in this country, in its inception, was a Protestant as well as a religious institution. As early as 1649, the General Court of Massachusetts enacted a law establishing common schools, and making it obligatory upon every township to maintain a school in which, reading, writ-

ing, &c., should be taught. The end for which these schools were ordained, is set forth in the following preamble to that law: "It being one chief project of that old deluder, Sathan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in an unknown tongue, so as in these latter times by persuading men from the use of tongues, so that, at least, the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded with false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers; and that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers," &c.* The same law, preamble and all, was incorporated into the code of laws prepared by Mr. Ludlow for the colony of Connecticut, and adopted by its General Court in 1650.† The very design cherished by the establishment of common schools in New England, was, therefore, to guard against religious error, and to maintain the purity of the Gospel. The same position is true, with scarcely any modification, of the Dutch Colony of New Netherland, now New York. The charter of "Privileges and Exemptions" for Patroons in that colony provided that the colonists should make prompt provision for the support of "a minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cold and be neglected among them."‡ And we learn the views of the colonists themselves in reference to this matter, from a remonstrance which they addressed to the States General of Holland, in reference to certain abuses which had grown up among them. They represent that "there should be a public school, provided at least with two good masters, so that first of all, in so wild a country, where there are many loose people, the youth be well brought up, not only in reading and writing, but also in the fear of the Lord."§ What the Puritans did in New England, and the Dutch Protestants did in New Netherland, the Episcopalians attempted in Maryland. In 1694, a law was enacted establishing free schools in the colony, the visitors of which were directed to employ "good schoolmasters, Members of the Church of England, and of pious exemplary lives and conversation," &c.||

* Hildreth's Hist. United States, vol. i., p. 370.

† Trumbull's Col. Records of Connecticut, 1st series, p. 554.

‡ Brodhead's Hist. New York, First Period, p. 196.

We will avail ourselves of this place to call the attention of our readers to Mr. Brodhead's admirable volume, which has been issued within a short time by the Harpers. It vindicates the claim of its author to take rank with the first Historians of the country. We hope he will prosecute the undertaking he has successfully commenced, and bring the History down to our own times.

§ Brodhead's Hist. N. Y., First Period, p. 506.

|| Hildreth's Hist. United States, vol. ii., pp. 182-325.

Such was the inception of the system of common schools in the leading states of this country. The schools of New England preserved their original character longer than those of the other states. Down to a period which is within the memory of men now living, the New England schoolmaster was not only a teacher of reading and grammar, but a catechist as well. But the Puritan common school is now a thing of the past, though the schools of New England are still Christian, perhaps we ought to say Protestant, inasmuch as the Bible still has a place in them, and it is made incumbent on their teachers to instruct the youth in the fundamental principles of Christian morality. It is a fact worthy of particular notice that the original common school was a Protestant institution. The system established in Maryland even, originated not with its Roman Catholic founders, but with the Episcopalians, who in 1694 superseded them in the government of the colony, removing the seat of government from the Catholic town of St. Mary's, to the Protestant town of Annapolis. The only relation of the Papists in this country to our common school system, is that which is disclosed by their criticisms upon, and their complaints against it, and their efforts to modify or destroy it. As a body the Papists have never been the friends of the free schools to which this country is so largely indebted for the intelligence and virtue of its people, as well as for its general prosperity and renown. They never established a common school, nor have they been found fostering and nourishing a system of instruction for all the children of the commonwealth. For this beneficent system they have neither veneration nor love. Always regarding it with jealousy and unfriendliness, they have hitherto maintained silence respecting it, only from a conviction of their impotence. Having now grown to a power which seems to promise success to their long cherished scheme, they have commenced open efforts to modify a system which they wish to cripple, perhaps to destroy.

The modifications which have thus far been made in the common schools of New England, have come in by a silent growth, through the tendency of the system to adjust itself to the genius of our civil institutions. These modifications have followed noiselessly in the train of the efforts of Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, &c., to separate the church from an organic connection with the state. This great struggle, long prosecuted, and with varying fortune, was at length successful, and the state was divorced from its old relations to a particular form of religion. As the result of this change, the sects above mentioned, and all others, came not merely

to be tolerated, but to stand in a condition of equality before the law with the descendants of the Puritans. The school, as if by an act of spontaneous homage to this liberalized basis of religious right, at once ceased to be Puritan and became *common*. It ceased to be the institution of a sect, and became the institution of the people. But while it embraced all forms and shades of religious faith, it was still a Christian and Protestant institution, because the instrument of a Protestant Christian people. This is the position of the common schools of New England at the present time. If they are Protestant it is because they cultivate a piety which is the growth of religious knowledge, and whose highest fruit on earth is a virtuous life, and encourage personal independence and freedom of thought. If they are unfriendly to the Roman Catholic church, they are so only because they give the Bible a place in their instructions, and promote the spread of intelligence among the people.

The free schools of New Netherland sustained the same relation to the Reformed Church of Holland, that those of New England did to the Puritan Church. They were never of the highest grade, and were generally conducted with little reference to the important ends in view of which they were ordained. They were modified in their ecclesiastical connection and character, in the general change which resulted from the conquest and possession of the colony by the English in 1664. Not only did they cease to be sectarian, but they were allowed, after this event, to sink into comparative desuetude. For nearly a hundred years the colony of New York did little for the promotion of popular education. In 1754 an effort was made to revive it, and to infuse new life into the forms which the colony inherited from its original founders. But this effort was only partially successful. Indeed, no systematic measures for the establishment of efficient public schools were adopted in this state, till near the commencement of the present century. Mr. Seward has furnished a condensed account of the origin and growth of the present school system of his native state, in his "Notes on New York," and we regret that our limits forbid us to quote the passage entire.* Whoever consults this and other accounts of the reconstruction of this system, which commenced about the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, will see that pains were taken to adjust it to the character of our political institutions, and to make it worthy

* Works, vol. ii. pp. 16-22.

of the good-will and confidence of all republicans, of whatever variety of religious conviction.

The change which we have thus traced in the ecclesiastical relations of the schools of New England and New York, is common to the school systems of all the older states of the Union. The states which have been more recently formed have organized their educational institutions in harmony with the prevailing sentiment of the country. So that in all the wide extent of our republic, the common school has passed beyond its primitive sectarian position, and come to stand on a truly American basis. And the question which is now being forced on the attention of our people, and which they must soon decide, is, whether our schools shall retrograde from their present advanced position—whether they shall cease to be American and catholic, and become in whole, or in part, sectarian and Papal. The question is not whether our schools shall continue to be Protestant. That point has already been passed upon, and a Protestant public school is henceforth impossible, whatever may be said of the origin and natural affiliations of the system. All that we can now claim consistently with the public compact into which we have voluntarily entered, is that our schools shall be, in some substantial sense Christian, without ceasing to be American, or becoming a mockery of the American idea of perfect equality in matters of religion.

It is now time, perhaps, to enter more specifically into a consideration of the present Papal movement. But in order to do this understandingly, it may be well for us to bestow a moment's attention on its history and progress hitherto. We have alluded in another place to the complaints of Bishop Hughes and his followers against the Public School Society of New York, in 1841-2, as the commencement of the great Papal crusade against the free schools of our country. But in strict truth the difficulty commenced ten years earlier. It arose in the application of the "Catholic Benevolent Society" of New York, for a portion of the public school fund in behalf of an orphan asylum under their care. A similar application had been made in 1822, by the Bethel Baptist Church, in aid of certain schools sustained by them, and been granted, in the first instance, but reconsidered and denied three years later, on the ground that these schools did not come under the character of common schools, but were in fact church or sectarian schools.* This decision of 1825, was regarded as

* See "Sketch," &c., appended to 42d Annual Report Public School Society, p. 21.

settling the principles on which the school fund was thereafter to be distributed. It was intended that no school established for the benefit of any church or sect, and which assumed to supersede the public schools, should in any case, or under any pretext, receive a portion of the public money. The application of the Catholics in 1831-2, for aid from the fund in behalf of their orphan asylum, was, therefore, strenuously resisted by the Trustees of the Public School Society. But in spite of that opposition, and in the face of their own admission of the justice of the principles out of which it arose, the Corporation of New York granted the petition of the Catholics, out of pure sympathy, as they asserted, for so interesting a charity. In a short time after this transaction, the Methodists applied for money to aid certain orphan schools which they were sustaining, but after much discussion the aldermen refused compliance by an almost unanimous vote.* Emboldened by their success in this instance, and perhaps flattered by the partiality which had been shown them, the functionaries of the Romish Church resolved to commence an open and systematic attack on the public schools of the city. They accordingly came before the Common Council of New York, in 1841, demanding that a portion of the school fund should be set apart for the benefit of such schools as it might please them to establish. They did not come merely complaining that they were oppressed in the public schools, and asking such relief as the Common Council in their wisdom might secure for them; instead of this they came demanding in the outset what they claimed as their share of the school fund. It is true that they did allege, as the ground of this proceeding, certain disabilities under which they labored, owing to the use of sundry reading books, and more especially of the Bible. The Trustees of the Public School Society made modifications both in the text-books and exercises of the schools, meeting in the most thorough manner the cases presented by the Romanists, but they were still unsatisfied. Failing in their design before the Common Council of New York, they memorialized the Legislature of the State, praying that body to interfere in their behalf. As we have already stated, Governor Seward entered into their views, and in his message to the Legislature of 1842, urged a compliance with their demand.† The most that was accomplished, however, during the three years that the question was before the Legislature, was to remedy

* "Sketch," &c., pp. 29-30.

† Works, vol. ii., pp. 306, 309.

the specific evils of which the petitioners complained, and to put the schools on a footing which would relieve them of any valid ground of complaint in the premises. But though the schools were thus modified, the object of the Papists was not gained. They had failed of the great end which they sought. The schools, which were sometime too religious, in being changed according to their request, became "godless." And their papers have been declaring that it would have been better for their children to have starved in Ireland, than to be reared like heathen in the schools of this country. What they demand is, that a portion of the money from the public funds of the several states and cities of the Union, shall be granted them for the benefit of schools in which children shall be specially instructed in the dogmas of their church. This is the aim of the bill which is now pending in the Legislature of Maryland. This is what they attempted to carry with the strong arm in the recent municipal election of Cincinnati. This is the achievement for which, by means of the press, of public lectures, and of sermons, they are endeavoring to prepare the public mind. It is not to a text-book, or to any particular school exercise, that they now direct their opposition, but rather to those principles on which the entire system is based. They make no concealment of their enmity to our system of public schools, and the rulers among them are doing what they can to separate their children from these schools. They have established schools of their own in which the catechism and the missal are the chief sources of instruction, and they demand that these schools shall be supported by the money of the state.

No one, we suppose, will deny the right of any sect to establish schools among themselves for the instruction of their children. We are sure that no true American will question the right of the Papists to educate their youth in the exclusive and sectarian schools which they have established in nearly all our cities. But all thinking men, who are free from the prejudices of which Romanists are unfortunately the subjects, must look on such a measure as fraught with great evil. How can it be otherwise than that the children thus taught and reared, should regard themselves as separated from other classes, and look upon all their interests as distinct from, if not opposed to, those of the rest of the community? Such a system must foster a spirit of caste, and the child of such a culture will scarcely think that he stands upon the same level with the pupils of the public school. These children are thus trained to regard themselves as a distinct community; and they must grow up foreigners, though invested with the func-

tions of citizens. It is notorious that the range of studies in these church schools is very restricted, and that children confined to them can not attain the generous culture which our public schools afford. Such children are not taught what it most concerns them, as future citizens of the Republic, to know. They are not instructed in reference to the nature of our government, and the spirit of our institutions. But what is more, they are inspired with the most active jealousy, if not filled with the most bitter hatred, of all other denominations of Christians. Their worst prejudices are awakened and carefully nourished. They are taught that it is a duty to despise and shun all who are not in communion with the Papal church. They are led to make it a matter of conscience to support that church, at whatever pecuniary sacrifice to themselves, and at whatever risk to the interests of the commonwealth. Such a departure from the long-settled principles of our civil state, such a violation of the spirit of our institutions, and such a perversion of the great end of public instruction, must be regarded with alarm, however we may feel bound by the terms which we have conceded to our adopted citizens, to let them stand without questioning. We speak of the concessions which we have made to our Roman Catholic friends; for, historically, as our readers will see from the historic view of this question which we have already presented, they have nothing to claim. It is impossible, indeed, to justify the existence of schools established for such ends, and conducted in such a spirit, in view of the historical equities of the case. Historically, the country, the government, and the schools, are ours. But we have extended a generous welcome to the children of other lands, and with the single condition that they shall be true to the instincts of Republicanism and the interests of the State, we have admitted them to an equality in political privilege and religious freedom, with ourselves. It should seem, therefore, that all that our Papist citizens can reasonably claim of us is, that we shall not seek to restrict them in their liberty of supporting such schools as they may see fit to establish. Considering the nature of these schools, and the end they have in view, this is conceding them a large, if not a questionable liberty.

It may be assumed as one of the fundamental principles of our political compact, that all sectarian establishments shall be strictly excluded from the benefit of state patronage. It is as much a rule that such establishments shall be sustained by the contributions of their votaries, as that the different states of the confederacy shall meet their own local

expenses. And it is clear that this principle applies to church schools, as well as to the churches themselves. Such sectarian schools can not claim the patronage of the State on the ground that they are charities; for even in the aid which the State extends to charities, it must limit itself to those which are free from all ecclesiastical connections.

There is a sense in which the State is Christian, and in which Christianity is the law of the land. The late Justice Story has truthfully remarked that "one of the most beautiful boasts of our municipal jurisprudence is, that Christianity is a part of the common law. * * * There never has been a period in which the common law did not recognize Christianity as lying at its foundation."* The decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in the case of *Updegraff vs. the Commonwealth*, not only asserts the same doctrine, but settles in what sense the State is Christian; that it is Christian in a sense which excludes all names, and parties and sects. It is the patron of "general Christianity," "Christianity without the spiritual authority of European countries."† The school being an institution of the State must, therefore, be Christian in the same sense. If it be less Christian than the State, it exists in violation of the supreme law of the land; but if it be Christian in a more special or sectarian sense, it necessarily passes beyond the cognizance and patronage of the State. If our public schools be indeed "heathen" and "godless," it is the duty of those having charge of their interests, to apply the corrective, and conform them to the Christianity ordained by the law of the Commonwealth. But let our legislators be careful not to extend the patronage of the State to institutions which not only impugn the historical basis of our public school system, but likewise contravene the fundamental provisions of our social compact.

We are by no means sure that, in the present condition of our public schools, they are obnoxious to the charge of being unchristian or atheistical. Upon this point we are happy to quote from the admirable work of Mr. Siljiström, who visited this country for the purpose of studying its educational institutions. He came out as an authorized agent of the Swedish government, and acknowledges that his prejudices were strongly enlisted in favor of catechetical exercises in the schools. In his fifteenth chapter, our author dwells on the connection of the system pursued in our schools with "the

* Inaugural Discourse at Harvard University.

† Sargent and Rawles' Reports, xi., p. 394.

Christian religious culture" of the pupils. We quote the following significant passage:

"I stated above that a truly religious spirit may reign in a school notwithstanding that religion is excluded as a subject of positive instruction. But may we not go further, and assert that, in reality, religion suffers from being made a subject of instruction in the daily schools? As religious instruction in the common schools must alternate with the temporal studies, is it not probable that in the minds of the pupils it will be placed on a level with the other subjects? Is it not probable that even the teachers will treat the one subject, in exactly the same manner as the other; that is to say, that they will treat it as an intellectual exercise, and nothing more? And can we suppose that all this will not contribute to degrade and profane religion in the thoughts of the young? At least as far as my experience goes, it tells me that thus it is."

We do not say that these considerations are entitled to full acceptance, but we may suggest that they are worthy of being carefully pondered. And they derive additional weight from the fact that our Sabbath schools have it for their special work to instruct our children in the great principles and precepts of the gospel. These schools are so multiplied as to contain a number nearly equal to that taught in our public schools. Besides the Sabbath schools, there is the Christian family, and more especially the Christian pulpit, from which our children may derive instruction in the great mysteries of the Christian faith.

But we are not disposed to deny that our schools should find a place for instruction in the great elements of Christian morality. And we are satisfied that there is a common ground where we can meet our Roman Catholic friends for securing this end, unless, indeed, as we fear, they are determined that there shall be no agreement. There are some suggestions on this point in Mr. Mayhew's excellent work, which we would like to quote, but must forbear, to find room for the following passage, which is given as a note to the comprehensive and able discourse of Dr. Bushnell. It presents this matter in a somewhat broader light, and gives us a glimpse of what might be done if our Catholic friends would but try it, toward removing the objection to our public schools. We commend it to the special attention of all who desire to reach a common ground on this great question. Dr. B. suggests four methods, in either of which the convictions of all might be reasonably met. The fourth of these methods is the preparation of "a book of Christian Morality, distinct from a doctrine of religion or a faith, which shall be taught indiscriminately to all scholars." He then goes on to say:

"I am not aware of any attempt that has hitherto been made to adjust

an agreement on the basis of this distinction. The following beautiful card, prepared by Archbishop Whately, to be conspicuously printed and hung in the Irish schools, was accepted by the whole Board, including the Catholic Archbishop; in which we have, at once, an example of what I mean by the distinction stated, and also a proof that, so far at least, the distinction is available as a basis of agreement.

“‘Christians should endeavor, as the Apostle Paul commands them, to ‘live peaceably with all men,’ (Rom. ch. xii. v. 10,) even with those of a different religious persuasion.’

“‘Our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples ‘to love one another.’ He taught them to love even their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and pray for those that persecuted them. He himself prayed for his murderers.’

“‘Many men hold erroneous doctrines; but we ought not to hate or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth, and to hold fast what we are convinced is the truth; but not to treat harshly those who are in error. Jesus Christ did not intend his religion to be forced on men by violent means. He would not allow his disciples to fight for him.’

“‘If any persons treat us unkindly, we must not do the same to them, for Christ and his apostles have taught us not to return evil for evil. If we would obey Christ, we must do to others, not as they do to us, but as we would wish them to do to us.’

“‘Quarreling with our neighbors, and abusing them, is not the way to convince them that we are in the right and they in the wrong. It is more likely to convince them that we have not a Christian spirit.’

“‘We ought to show ourselves followers of Christ, who ‘when he was reviled, reviled not again,’ (1 Pet. ch. ii. v. 23,) by behaving gently and kindly to every one.’

“If I rightly understand, it is over Christianity as a faith, a divine mystery, that the Catholic Church claims a more especial jurisdiction, and not over the preceptive rules of conduct on the common footing of intercourse and society. Otherwise it must also assume a jurisdiction over many things in the province even of the common law, such as theft, perjury, slander, and all moral definitions that turn upon the question of ‘malice aforethought.’ And if it can not submit to any common teachings on these points, how can it submit to the jurisdiction of the State itself without an equal infringement of its prerogative? Is it then impossible to prepare a volume, in the manner of the above card, which, without entering into any matter that pertains to Christianity as a faith, or a grace of salvation, will yet comprise everything that pertains to the relative conditions of life, and even to God’s authority concerning them—the Christian rules of forgiveness, gentleness, forbearance, docility, modesty, charity, truth, justice, temperance, industry, reverence toward God, drawn out in chapters, and formally developed—large extracts from the preceptive parts of the Bible, and its moral teachings; from the Proverbs of Solomon, from the histories of Joseph and Haman, from the history of Jesus, in his trial and crucifixion, taken as an example of conduct, from the moral teachings also of his sermon on the mount, the parable of the good Samaritan, the rule of the lowest seat, and other like expositions—enlivened also by those picturesque representations of Scripture that display the manner of human nature in matters of moral conduct, such as the parable of Jotham, the story of the ewe lamb, and the judgment of Solomon. In this way Christianity would have a clear and well-ascertained place in the schools. A Christian conscience would be formed, and a habit of religious reverence. And though we could wish for something more, we might safely leave the higher mysteries of faith and salvation to be taught elsewhere.”

Pp. 16, 17.

But it will be said that the Roman Catholics will not accept of terms like these. We fear that this is true. It is quite too evident that they are not looking for terms on which they can participate in our common schools, but rather to find how they can separate themselves from them, without pecuniary loss. Their anxiety is, not to reform the alleged evils of our public schools, but how they can induce the State to contribute to the instruction of the young in the dogmas of their hierarchy. If it be so, and they will refuse all terms of accommodation, let us place our schools on the true common Christian basis, and leave them, with whatever regret for the evil they are thus doing to themselves and to the State, to their own perverse way; leave them with counsels to a better course, but with no pecuniary assistance whatever to their present. This question is so pertinently met by Dr. Bushnell that we can not forbear giving an additional extract from his Discourse :

“ Then, having done it, we can take the ground explicitly, and clear of all ambiguity, that those who exclude themselves are not Americans, and are not acting in their complaints or agitations, on any principle that meets the tenor of our American institutions. Nothing will be more evident, and they should be made to bear the whole odium of it. If to keep their people apart from the dreaded influence of Protestant Christianity, they were to buy townships of land, or large quarters in our cities, to be occupied only by Catholics, walled in by their own by-laws, and allowing no Protestant family, or tradesman, or publican, to reside in the precinct—no one to enter it without a pass; and then to come before our legislatures in petition that we will distribute moneys to support their roads, and pay their constables and gatekeepers; they would scarcely do a greater insult to our American society than they do in these separations from our common schools, and the petitions they are offering to be justified and rewarded in the separation.” P. 21.

We do not see how this position can be invalidated by the claim that our Catholic citizens are taxed for the purposes of education. For, in the first place, it is certain that their taxation bears no relation in amount to their numbers, in comparison with the rest of the community. In the second place it was never the design of the State, in levying taxes for the promotion of public ends, to distribute the benefits of such taxation among individuals, or classes, in proportion to the amount of their contributions to the general fund. The assumption on which taxation is based is, that there are certain public objects so indispensable to the good of the commonwealth as to justify the State in appropriating the money of its citizens to their support, without reference to the question whether any direct benefit will accrue to the parties taxed. It is one of the conditions of property to be taxed

for the public weal ; and nothing can be more equitable than to place the property of a State in such a relation to the interests of general education, more especially as it makes this education available for all. If any class of men refuse to avail themselves of this provision, shall their taxes be remitted on that ground? If a wealthy citizen of New York were to refuse to use the Croton water, alleging that his wells and cisterns yielded him a better and purer supply, would it be required of the public authorities to set apart a portion of the water-tax to keep his wells and cisterns in repair? Or would he have a right to insist that his taxes, for the object in question, should be remitted? If not, how is this question modified by the fact that some Roman Catholics are taxed for the benefit of the public schools which they repudiate? If the State can say to the Quaker, whose conscience forbids him to fight with carnal weapons, "If you will not bear arms you must give your money for the support of our military institutions," may she not also say to the Roman Catholics, who refuse to partake of the benefits of our common schools, "If you will not send your children to our public schools, you must contribute money for their support?" It will be time to claim that there is a greater equity in the first of these decisions, on account of the actual advantage which the Quaker reaps from the military power, in the protection of his person and property, in times of invasion, when it can be shown that such protection is a greater benefit than the Roman Catholic actually derives from the general order, intelligence and enterprise engendered in our public schools.

There can be no question that these schools are an incalculable blessing to the Commonwealth. One of the earliest wants which our fathers felt, after the establishment of our present form of government, was an enlightened system of general education.* Such a system is essential to the prosperity, nay, to the integrity, of a state which depends on the popular will. It prepares men for intelligent political action, by instructing them in the nature and tenure of their political rights, by giving them an insight into the forms and spirit of our institutions, by affording them more comprehensive views of human character, and by giving readiness and expansion to their human sympathies. The views of human relationships and obligations, and the purer social instincts, awakened in the common school, can not but exert

* Seward's Works, vol. ii., p. 19.

a favorable influence on the intercourse of after life; while the scrupulous attention to order, and the spirit of subordination, which are essential ingredients of the system, tend to make the future man methodical in the pursuit of his calling, and loyal to constituted and rightful authority. Over such a people the despot can gain no substantial power, and the demagogue no lasting influence. Moreover, imperfect as our system of public education confessedly is, it does point the soul to God, and open the mind to receive those lessons of his greatness and power and love which his Word and works alike declare. Under its genial ministry thought becomes more free, inquiry is at once stimulated and guided, opinion becomes in a stricter sense an expression of individuality, a personal and substantial thing; and when religion comes to the heart it finds a medium fitted for the development of its purest forms, and an instrument capable of displaying its mightiest power.

Such are the tendencies of our common school system. This is loudly proclaimed in the growing confidence of all men of enlightened and progressive sympathies. It is even more significantly declared by the strenuous and bitter opposition which it meets from the servants of that church which seeks tractable rather than intelligent subjects, and bids men accept the inanities of tradition instead of the word of God; and one of whose choicest and most practical maxims is, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion." It is because this system realizes, in so adequate a manner, its true end—the promotion of intelligence and virtue—and fosters in its disciples so high a degree of personal dignity and independence, that the leaders of the Roman Church hate, and seek to cripple or destroy it. But they must not be successful. This noble system which has come down to us from our fathers, and which has proved so fruitful of blessing to them and to their descendants—this fountain whose margins have ever been green and flourishing with the sweetest virtues of domestic life, and the holiest fervors of Christian zeal, and which has sent out the refreshing streams of knowledge over a thirsty continent, diffusing a vitalizing energy among all classes of our nascent states—such an institution must neither be superseded nor obstructed in its operations. Let our legislators fix themselves in the resolution to maintain it, in its strictest integrity, admitting no modifications but such as may serve to bring it into closer relations with the objects of its care. Let the people disclose the place which it fills in their hearts, and proclaim that the public man who would enjoy their confidence and favor, must never tri-

file nor tamper with its sacred claims. We will not despair of its fortunes. In the day of its need God will raise it up friends. Even from the ranks of its opposers will come forth stalwart and earnest defenders. Thousands of the more enlightened members of the papal communion, are, even now, enrolled among its friends and patrons. It is only a few days since that one of the most gifted and influential sons of the Romish Church, called on his countrymen and ours to maintain our beneficent system of common schools.* His words will find an echo in many a Catholic heart, and the men who have asked them to degrade themselves, and consign their children to intellectual vassalage, by tearing down the noble edifice of popular education, will find, when it is too late to retrieve their error, that they have not only failed in their darling aim, but have forfeited the confidence, and alienated the love of the people of their flock.

But it is time for us to close. Before doing so, however, we must take occasion to say, that the greatest danger which just now environs our common school system, lies in the relations which the question has been made to assume to party schemings and contests. The fear is, that aspiring and unscrupulous politicians, counting on the numerical strength of the Roman Catholics, will seize on this question as a means of gaining the objects of their ambition. When we think of the sinister compliances of this class of men, which have disgraced the political annals of the last ten years, we confess that it is not without reason that such a fear is indulged. When our states are sold out to the interests of the monstrous rum traffic, for the sake of party aggrandizement, there is too strong a probability that the attempt may be made to sacrifice the integrity of our common schools to the prejudices of those who "love darkness rather than light." If demagogues should succeed in awakening a secret confidence among our Catholic citizens, without exciting the fears of those whose sympathies are more thoroughly American, and should prostitute the political power thus gained to the ends which the former seek, great temporary embarrassment might be produced, and much real injury might be done; but the perpetrators of the wrong might surely calculate on a speedy retribution.

* Thomas F. Meagher, Esq., before N. Y. Volunteers, May 25th, 1853.

ART. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

(1.) BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews ; with an Introductory Essay on Civil Society and Government. By E. C. WINES. New York : G. P. Putnam, 1853. 8vo, pp. 640.

THERE can scarcely be a more interesting or suggestive study than that afforded by the civil polity and jurisprudence of the Israelites. It is impossible accurately to estimate the influence of these on the governments and laws of the rest of the world. But we know that it has been immense. The most enlightened nations of Christendom have derived their best principles from the great Jewish Lawgiver. The fundamental elements of our Common Law may be traced to their source in the Divine Law, as given by Moses. These facts render the general theme of the book before us an attractive and important one, independently of its bearing on questions of Biblical Interpretation. We take pleasure in saying that Prof. Wines has made himself familiar with his subject, and furnished a valuable aid to the study of the institutions and laws of the Hebrews. The substance of this volume was delivered in some of our principal cities, and before the classes of the leading Theological Seminaries of the Country ; and they met with hearty approval from Jurists and Divines competent to decide upon their merits. We are glad that this work, which reflects so much credit on the industry and judgment of the author, has been published. Should he conclude to give his work on the Hebrew Jurisprudence to the public, he will increase the obligation under which his present favor has laid them. That work will form the proper complement of the present, and will, we doubt not, be hailed with satisfaction by all students of Hebrew History and Archæology.

A Commentary on the Song of Solomon. By the Rev. GEORGE BURROWES, Prof. in Lafayette College, Pa. Philadelphia : William S. Martien. 1853. 12mo, pp. 527.

Perhaps no book in the Sacred Canon has called forth a greater variety of views, among the critics and interpreters of the Bible, than the Song of Solomon. While some, like Dr. John Pye Smith, have denied its Inspiration, others like Owen and Rutherford, have taken it as containing the highest expressions of the Divine Love to believers, and of the believer's love to his Redeemer. The latter is the theory of our author. He says in his very able introduction : " As the doctrines relating to the person and work of Jesus are set forth literally in the New Testament, but are illustrated by the emblems of the Jewish service ; so the reciprocal love of Christ and his people, unfolded by plain statement in other portions of the Bible, is here elu-

culated by poetical imagery and comparison." It is very clear, we think, that this view of the scope and design of the Song is the only one that consists with the belief of its inspiration.

Prof. Burrowes has given us a new translation of the Song, which has the double merit of being both literal and elegant. This translation is preceded by a summary of its contents, and followed by a critical analysis, which, taken together, unfold the author's idea of the meaning of the book. Then follows the Commentary, which is judicious in its plan and able in its execution. We commend the book to clergymen, and to all students of the Bible. Even to those who do not accept its leading idea it will prove suggestive, while its copious illustrations of the oriental imagery employed in the Song will be highly instructive.

Daily Bible Illustrations; Being Original Readings for a Year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. By JOHN KITTO, D. D., F. S. A. Evening Series. Life and Death of our Lord. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 433.

This is the seventh volume of the admirable Series of Bible Readings which Dr. Kitto is writing. One more volume, comprising Readings from the Lives of the Apostles, will complete the series. The public have long since passed a favorable judgment on these Readings. We regard them as among the very best Expositions of the Scriptures for popular use. The present volume is more consecutive in its arrangement than either of its predecessors, and contains a connected account of the life, teachings and miracles of our Lord. The history of the closing scenes of our Saviour's life, and of his Crucifixion and Resurrection, is peculiarly rich and edifying. When the series of these Readings shall be completed, they will form a collection of Bible Illustrations so ample in their range, and so satisfactory in their details, that every family ought to be in possession of them.

Genesis and Geology; or an Investigation into the Reconciliation of the modern Doctrines of Geology with the Declarations of Scripture. By DENIS CROFTON, B. A. With an Introduction by EDWARD HITCHCOCK, D. D., LL. D. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1853. 16mo, pp. 100.

This little volume contains the most thorough discussion of the relations of Scripture and Geology that we have met. Mr Crofton is an accomplished Hebrew Scholar, and appears to be familiar with the principles and facts of Geology. His work leaves but little to be desired on this subject. It not only demonstrates that there is no disagreement between Science and Revelation, but that there is the strictest harmony. We trust that those who allow the decisions of Geology in reference to the formation and antiquity of the earth, will take the trouble to read this little treatise, before deciding that the Mosaic account of the Creation is a fiction.

The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament. A series of Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, Prof. of Divinity in King's College, London. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1853. Small 8vo, pp. 466.

These Sermons contain a series of reflections on some of the leading incidents in the history of the Kings, and expositions of portions of the language of the principal Prophets, of the Old Testament. In his exposition of the prophecies, Mr. Maurice pursues the literal method, finding a reference to some contemporary event, where others have discovered predictions of events to be realized in the more perfect Dispensation which was yet to come. But he generally holds that these predictions reached beyond the subjects which they more immediately disclosed, and terminated in the spiritual development of the kingdom of Christ. Mr. Maurice is well known as a fine scholar, and this new work from his accomplished pen will be hailed by all lovers of sacred learning, though it contains some things which we regard as questionable.

Meditations on the Last Days of Christ; together with Eight Meditations on the Seventeenth Chapter of John. By W. G. SCHAUFFLER, Missionary at Constantinople. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. 1853. 12mo, pp. 439.

The discourses of which this volume is comprised are well described by their title, "Meditations." They are the musings of a pious heart on the incidents connected with the closing scenes of our Lord's life. The style is somewhat diffuse and colloquial, but is, perhaps, for this reason, better adapted to the purpose which the excellent author had in view.

Every-Day Scripture Readings, with brief Reviews and Observations, for the use of Families and Schools. By the Rev. JOHN L. BLAKE, D. D. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 12mo, pp. 468.

Dr. Blake has given us here copious selections of readings from the Bible, for the use of the family and the school. If we could sympathize with the fastidiousness in which this selection originated, we would thank him for making it. We do not believe, however, that the public taste called for the preparation of such a volume. The fate of Dr. Webster's expurgated or amended version of the Bible is a sufficient proof that there is no public demand for such a work. Apart from the sentiments in which the selection had its origin, we regard it as judicious, and we cheerfully commend the Observations as instructive and of a highly practical value.

Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon: with Travels in Armenia Kurdistan and the Desert: being the result of a second Expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum. By AUSTIN H. LAYARD, M. P. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 8vo, pp. 686.

The interest of this noble volume is equal to that of the author's former

work on Nineveh. It throws much additional light on many passages of the Sacred Scriptures, besides giving a great amount of information in reference to the inhabitants of the lands through which he passed, or in which he sojourned, during his antiquarian researches. We have an article in preparation for our next number which will treat more fully of its interesting revelations.

The same enterprising publishing house have issued an abridgment of this work, which contains the substance of the larger volume, in most cases, in the precise words of the author, which will prove very acceptable to those who are unable to procure the latter.

Since this form was made up we have received the Harpers' edition of Layard. It is in every respect equal to the London edition, and is sold at \$2,25.

(2.) THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

Discourses on the Existence and Attributes of God. By STEPHEN CHARNOCK, D. D. With his life and character. By WILLIAM SYMINGTON, D. D. In two vols. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 8vo, pp. 606, 543.

Mr. Charnock was one of the most accomplished English Divines during the period of the Commonwealth. No theological writer of that age is held in higher estimation. He possessed such a combination of qualities as rarely falls to the lot of a single man. To a great strength of judgment he added an equal force of imagination. In reading his works we are struck at once with the consecutiveness and compactness of his logic, and the fertility and vividness of his fancy. The great work before us is adorned with the rich treasures of the author's intellect; but it has the higher merit of illustrating and defending the sublimest truth in the Universe. A work like this needs no commendation from us to give it currency. It is only necessary to announce it. If, however, there should chance to be a reader of the Review who is not familiar with its merits, we can assure him that it is one of the best Theological Works produced since the Reformation.

The Messrs. Carter are entitled to the thanks of American clergymen, especially, for issuing the work in this substantial and elegant form.

Views of Theology; as developed in Three Sermons, and on his Trial before the Presbytery and Synod of Cincinnati, June, 1835, with remarks on the Princeton Review. By LYMAN BEECHER, D. D. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. 1853. 12mo, pp. 456.

This is the third volume of the works, with the collecting and publishing of which, the venerable author is improving the evening of a long and busy life. It contains the masterly vindication which he made of his views, nearly twenty years since, when arraigned for heresy. We can not, in the brief space to which we are confined, give any account of the controversy in which he was then involved, and from which he issued so triumphantly. We

rejoice that Dr. Beecher has been induced to collect and edit his works. There is no service to which he could more appropriately or usefully devote his declining days.

The Evidences of Christianity in their External or Historical Division: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures, by CHARLES P. M'ILVAINE, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Ohio. Ninth edition, revised and improved by the Author. New York: American Tract Society.

We have long regarded this as a very valuable treatise on the external evidences of Christianity. It is quite thorough in its discussions and is yet adapted to reach the popular mind. It sets Christianity on a historical basis which can not be shaken. We hope it may have a wide circulation.

On Miracles; By RALPH WARDLAW, D. D. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 295.

Dr. Wardlaw has acquired high distinction as an elegant and vigorous writer on Theological subjects. The present work is characterized by those peculiarities of thought and style which have given him celebrity. It is clear, methodical, and generally, well reasoned. Its fundamental view, however, we think defective, viz., that miracles are *violations* of the laws of nature; mistaking, constantly, *deviation* and *suspension*, or the introduction of new powers by the God of nature, in attestation or accomplishment of a Divine Mission, for violations of nature. He criticises, but without success, the views of Trench, Vaughn, and others, who hold that miracles, so far from being violations of nature, are in harmony with nature. Besides, Dr. Wardlaw separates, too much, the miracles from the supernatural system of which they form a part. A broader and deeper view of the whole subject is demanded to meet the wants of the thoughtful inquirer. With these exceptions the volume is interesting and instructive, and ought to find a place in the library of every student. It is a model of clear, methodical, well-digested writing.

The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited by Prof. SHEDD. In 7 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853.

We have before us vols. iii., iv. and v., of the Harpers' elegant edition of this valuable work. Volume iii. contains the *Biographia Literaria*; vol. iv. is made up of Coleridge's *Notes and Lectures on Shakspeare and other Dramatists*; and the fifth volume, entitled *Literary Remains*, is composed of fragmentary notes on sundry old religious writers, and the celebrated *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. This fifth volume, in spite of its fragmentary character, is one of the most suggestive and instructive of the series, though from the manner in which it has been made up, it must present in many instances, only partial views of the author's idea. These notes were written by Coleridge in the margins of books, some of which were borrowed, and some his own, which he afterward sold. Their teachings should, therefore, be taken with considerable allowance.

A Statement of the Trinitarian Principle, or Law of Tri-Personality. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 8vo, pp. 123.

This volume is issued, in advance, as a fragment of a larger work, which the Author is preparing for publication, on a PRIMAL PHILOSOPHY, or UNIVERSAL SCIENCE, which is to explain all the problems, and remove all the difficulties of metaphysics and theology. It is issued with the loftiest pretensions of originality, logical demonstration and scientific expression. Indeed we have rarely met with a publication so bold and pretentious. The argument is altogether ontological, and professes to reveal the law, and consequently to solve the mystery of absolute or unconditioned Being, the doctrine of the Trinity, the creation of the world, the origin of sin, the incarnation of Christ, the regeneration of man. The author claims that while it is hypothetical, it is self-evident, and forms a foundation, independent of the Scriptures, upon which Christianity may forever rest secure, irrefragable and harmonious. It reminds us now of the speculations of Origen and Paracelsus, anon of Spinoza and Schelling, then of Behmen and Swedenborg. Still, as a whole, it is the author's own, and chimes with the speculations of the above philosophers and mystics, only in its *a priori* modes of argument and expression. It posits the facts of unity, plurality and diversity, and finally of tripersonality, as the basis and law of all existence internal and external. It finds evil and sin, in the very nature and manifestation of absolute existence, and of course in the creation of man, as something not simply occasional and phenomenal but absolute and necessary. In fact, it represents it as springing from finite existence and selfism, which some have made to exist in the manifestation of God, as well as in the manifestation of man, and is thence to be removed by sacrifice in God and in man.

We have not space here to give our views of this singular production in full. Should it not fall still-born from the press; especially if it should be likely to attract much attention, we shall devote to it a few pages in some future number of the Review. We can only say, now, that the whole appears to us an imaginary theory, posited with laborious effort, in the impalpable regions of unconditioned being, where all thought, which ever involves a limit and a relation, must necessarily be lost. We understand that it is ascribed to one of the Beecher family, though we should be more inclined to father it on some speculative Swedenborgian.

Lectures on Pastoral Theology. By the Rev. JAMES SPENCER CANNON, D. D., late Professor of Pastoral Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey. New York: Charles Scribner. 1853. 8vo, pp. 617.

These Lectures on Pastoral Theology present a very elaborate and comprehensive view of that subject. Dr. Cannon was evidently a man of sound judgment, and of untiring industry. He derived his theory from a discipline of thirty years in the pastoral work. His volume presents a full view of the Christian ministry, in all its relations to the government, discipline,

institutions, sacraments, &c., of the Church. His views we regard as generally sound. On some points, as Baptists, we must of course take exceptions to his teachings. But setting such portions of the work aside, it is still worthy of the study of all ministers of the Gospel. We hope it may find a wide circulation.

(3.) HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

A History of England from the first Invasion by the Romans to the accession of William and Mary in 1688. By JOHN LINGARD, D. D. From the last issued London edition. In 13 vols. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1853.

We have before us the first volume (12mo. pp. 361.) of this new and convenient edition of the very valuable history of Dr. Lingard. Dr. L. was a Roman Catholic, and his work bears occasional evidences of his ecclesiastical connections, but it also bears the marks of extensive research and great acumen, and is as nearly impartial, perhaps, as any work written from the opposite stand-point. We are glad to see this promise of an American edition of this great work. It is bound uniform with the editions of Macaulay, Hume and Gibbon, published by the same House.

Memoirs of the Queens of Henry VIII., and of his Mother, Elizabeth of York. By AGNES STRICKLAND. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1853. Small 8vo, pp 420.

These memoirs of the six victims of the imperial lust and power of Henry VIII., are taken from Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*. This collection of them in a single volume will be very acceptable to the admirers of the gifted authoress. It has all the interest of a tragedy, or rather of a succession of tragedies.

Lares and Penates; or Cilicia and its Governors, being a short historical account of that Province from the earliest times to the present day: together with a description of some Household Gods of the ancient Cilicians, broken up by them on their conversion to Christianity, first discovered and brought to England by the Author WILLIAM BUCKHARDT BARKER, M. R. A. S. Edited by W. F. AINSWORTH F. R. G. S. &c. London: Ingram, Cooke & Co. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co.

We have copied this long title-page as the best description we could furnish of a very valuable work. The reader of the New Testament will recognize Cilicia as the native province of the Apostle Paul. (Acts 21, 39; 22, 3.) It was the first scene of his labors, and the field in which he most loved to toil. Mr. Barker's account of its history and antiquities will be found of real service.

Matthew Paris' English History. Translated from the Latin, by Rev. J. A. GILES, D. C. L. In two volumes. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1853.

We have before spoken of this work and testified to its importance. We

are happy to avail ourselves of the appearance of the second volume to commend it again to our readers.

The Life of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington. By J. H. STOCQUELER, Esq. In 2 vols. With numerous engravings. London: Ingram, Cooke & Co. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1853.

Mr. Stocqueler is an ardent admirer of the Hero of his story, and though trustworthy in the main, he is sometimes betrayed into the process of whitewashing, as in his account of the execution of Ney, and of the Duke's duplicity in reference to the dismissal of Mr. Huskisson from his administration in 1828, &c. We have no love for the Duke of Wellington. He was a cold, selfish, arbitrary man. Those who desire a connected and authentic account of his public life, enriched with numerous illustrations, should obtain these volumes.

History of the Crusades. By JOSEPH FRANCOIS MICHAUD. Translated from the French, by W. ROBSON. 3 vols. New York: Redfield. 1853.

We can barely announce this valuable work, with the remark that the great reputation which it has enjoyed on the Continent seems to be fully justified by its merits. It is exceedingly interesting in its relation to the ecclesiastical affairs of the middle ages. In a subsequent number we shall present our readers an extended review.

History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D. D. Vol. V. Translated by H. WHITE. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 518.

This fifth volume of Dr. D'Aubigne's noble work will be especially attractive to English and American readers, inasmuch as it details the events of the Reformation in England. The translation has been carefully revised by the author, so that the volume comes forth under his immediate sanction. We have read it with great pleasure. The Author is master of the subject and writes with the same vivacity which has made his former volumes so popular.

The History of the Church of England. By J. B. S. CARWITHEN, B. D. In two volumes. Oxford: John Henry Parker. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo, pp. 582, 606.

This is an exceedingly well digested and well written History. The author was a warm advocate of the Church of England, and his pictures of Anabaptists and Puritans are not, therefore, as flattering or engaging as could be desired. Still we accord him a high degree of impartiality, and regard his work as a valuable contribution to Church History. His account of the Reformation in England, and the constitution of the English Church, coincides mainly with that of Burnet, and is at once succinct and reliable.

A Church Dictionary. By WALTER FARQUHAR COOK, D. D., Vicar of Leeds. London: John Murray. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 670.

We have here a very full and ample Encyclopedia of Ecclesiastical History,

Archæology, and church institutions and customs generally. It appears to have been executed with commendable fidelity. It will prove useful to ministers and others who wish occasionally to resort to a book of reference on such subjects.

Magnalia Christi Americana; or the Ecclesiastical History of New England from its first planting in the year 1620 until the year of our Lord 1698. In seven books. By the Rev. and learned COTTON MATHER, D. D. F. R. S. 2 vols. Hartford: Silas Andrus & Son. 1853. 8vo, pp. 626, 681.

The lovers of antiquity, and all who wish to become familiar with the opinions, feelings, and religious life of our New England fathers, will be glad to see this republication of Mather's great work. Its quaint style will prove quite as attractive as its subject. Even its bigotry and intolerance against the "monstrous heresies" of the Baptists and Quakers will be found edifying. We thank the Messrs. Andrus for the republication of this work. It is edited, with an introduction, by the venerable Dr. Robins of Hartford. The value of this edition for popular circulation is much enhanced by the translation of passages in foreign languages by L. F. Robinson, Esq. We hope the Publishers may be amply remunerated for the liberal manner in which they have issued this valuable work.

Dowling's History of Romanism has appeared in a new Edition, with a Supplement, continuing the History to the present time. The value of the work is increased by these additions from the hand of the author. We rejoice in the indications of the success of so good a book.

Memoir and Sermons of Rev. Wm. J. Armstrong, D. D. Edited by HOLLIS READ. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 12mo, pp. 411.

Dr. Armstrong had been Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for several years before his death, which occurred in the wreck of the steamer Atlantic, on Fisher's Island, in November 1846. He was, in an eminent degree, evangelical in spirit, and devoted in labors. The brief notice of his life, to which are added various memorials of his labors in different sections, affords a really delightful impression of the man, and awakens something like veneration for the Christian. Nor are these sentiments lowered as we pass to the perusal of the sermons with which the greater part of the volume is occupied. The simplicity, the earnestness, the consecration of spirit, by which these sermons are characterized, leave a heightened impression of the evangelical character of the preacher on the mind of the reader. His death was what might have been expected from such a life as he lived before his brethren. This work will be productive of great good.

Memoir of Rev. Oliver Alden Taylor, A. M., late of Manchester, Massachusetts. By Rev. TIMOTHY A. TAYLOR. Boston: Tappan & Whittemore. 1853. 12mo, pp. 396.

This volume contains a memorial of a man who appears to have been devoted and useful in the pastoral work. Mr. Taylor was possessed of more than ordinary abilities, and was evidently the subject of a high culture. His prose writings given in the volumes before us exhibit a good degree of vigor. As for the poetry printed in the last part of the volume, we think its publication is an evidence of the partiality of the biographer for his subject, rather than of his appreciation of poetic beauty.

The History of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. Vol. 4. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 524.

This is the concluding volume of M. Lamartine's *History of the Restoration*. It is like its predecessors, a series of historical pictures instead of a history. It abounds in scenes rendered gorgeous by the imagination of a poet, but is not always reliable. For instance, he gravely represents the intimacy of Louis XVIII., with Madame du Cayla as a *friendship*, instead of an *amour*. Indeed his pictures of the Bourbon kings of the Restoration, are purely fancy sketches. The man who sits for the following picture, is immediately after presented as a saint in morals and a Solomon in wisdom. He is writing of Charles X.

"A love of horses, a taste for forest life, the cry of the hounds, the delight of hunting the deer and the roe-buck, the excitement of the wild tally ho! and the concluding flourish of the French horns called forth his enthusiasm as the manœuver, the combat, and the victory, call forth that of the hero. His hunting train and his stables were more than an amusement—they were a royal occupation for him. His long residence in England, a country in which horses, dogs, the forest, and the race-course, are the blazonry of an opulent aristocracy and the national pride of the people, had maintained and increased in him this hereditary passion of the Bourbons. He caused reports of his hunting excursions to be drawn up by the historians, of his hounds and horses; and grave volumes published during and after his reign, still retrace, with scrupulous fidelity and picturesque talent the narrative of these futile exploits. His leisure thus passed in conformity with the habits of his youth, and with due consideration for his health, did not, however, interfere with the duties which his conscience imposed on him as a king. His piety even took the precedence of his pleasures." p. 266.

(3.) GENERAL LITERATURE.

Rural Essays. By A. J. DOWNING. Edited, with a memoir of the author, by GEORGE W. CURTIS. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 8vo, pp. 557.

There is a mournful satisfaction experienced by the reader of these final memorials of this amiable and gifted author. They consist of nearly all his contributions to the "*Horticulturist*," and of his letters from England written during a tour in the summer of 1850. Both essays and letters are replete with the good sense and refined taste which characterized the lamented author.

Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakspeare's Plays, from the manuscript corrections in the copy of the Folio, 1632, in the possession of J. PAYNE COLLIER Esq. New York: Redfield. 1853. 12mo, pp. 541.

We regret that want of space compels us to pass by this remarkable volume with a very meagre notice. Many of the corrections which it contains might have been copied from the folio of 1623, but there are others, and these comprise by far the greater number, which must have been derived from some other source. Some of these alterations are of so obvious a character, that there can be scarcely a doubt that they are the correct readings.

We shall recur to this subject on the appearance of Mr. Collier's amended edition of Shakspeare, which will soon be issued by Mr. Redfield.

Reason and Faith, and other Miscellanies. By HENRY ROGERS, author of "Eclipse of Faith." Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1853. Small 8vo, pp. 558.

The paper from which this volume takes its title, attracted considerable attention at the time of its appearance in the Edinburgh Review. The one which immediately precedes it, on the "Right of Private Judgment," is a very racy review of a contemporary question agitated in the English Church. Without any high merit, in an intellectual point of view, the papers composing this volume are very entertaining literary exercises.

Notes from Life. In seven essays. By HENRY TAYLOR, author of "Philip Van Artevelde." Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1853. 16mo, pp. 197.

These notes were suggested by the following phases of life: Money, Humility and Independence, Wisdom, Choice in Marriage, Children, the Life Poetic, and The ways of the Rich and Great. They evince careful observation and deep reflection on life at large. The sentiments inculcated by the author are just, and his style lucid and finished.

Yusef; or the Journey of the Frangi. A Crusade in the East. By J. ROSS BROWNE. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 421.

Mr. Browne is a very good natured man, and he has the faculty of keeping his readers in the best mood imaginable. There is much to be enjoyed, and something to be learned, from the reading of his pretty volume.

Travels in South-Eastern Asia: embracing Hindustan, Malaya, Siam and China, with notices of numerous Missionary Stations, and a full account of the Burman Empire. By HOWARD MALCOM, President of Lewisburg University. Ninth edition, with 63 engravings. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 12mo, pp. 432.

This new edition of Dr. Malcom's work will be hailed with satisfaction by his numerous friends. We cheerfully commend it to the notice of our readers.

Home-Life in Germany. By CHARLES LORING BRACE, author of "Hungary in 1851." New York: Charles Scribner. 1853. 12mo, pp. 443.

Mr. Brace traveled through Germany on foot and mingled with the people, observing their habits, and drawing out their feelings. We have rarely read a book of travels with more satisfaction. It is not occupied with de-

scriptions of scenery, or mere incidents of the way, but with delineations of national character and life. It is one of those books which contribute something to the instruction of the public.

White, Red, and Black. Sketches of American Society in the United States, during the visit of their guests. By FRANCIS and THERESA PULSKY. 2 vols. New York: Redfield. 1843. 12mo, pp. 331, 342.

It is profitable sometimes to attend to what other people say of us, and to look upon ourselves as we appear in their eyes. We have in these well printed volumes an opportunity of thus studying our national character. We have every reason to be satisfied with the view which the writers give of our social and political state. The book abounds in just observations, and in many instances contains suggestions which, if we would receive them, would conduce very much to our advantage.

Memorials of the English Martyrs. By the Rev. C. B. TAYLER, M. A., Rector of Otley, Suffolk. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 359.

Mr. Tayler's book is a contribution to the anti-Papal movement which has been agitating England for the last five years. It contains graphic sketches of the persecution and martyrdom of some of England's noblest saints. In succeeding volumes, the author intends to present some memorials of the martyrs of other lands. We recommend this volume to the public. It is to be hoped that it will serve to show our people the true spirit of the Papacy which is the same in all ages.

(5.) EDUCATIONAL.

A Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages, composed from the Spanish Dictionaries of the Spanish Academy Terreros, and Salva, upon the basis of Seoane's Edition of Neuman and Barretti, and from the English Dictionaries of Webster, Worcester, and Walker; with the addition of more than eight thousand Words, Idioms, and familiar Phrases; the irregularities of all the Verbs, and a Grammar and Synopsis of both Languages. By MARIANO VELAZQUEZ DE LA CADENA, Prof. of Spanish Language and Literature in Columbia College, New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. 1300.

This is the last in the series of dictionaries of modern languages published by the Appletons. The former numbers of the series, Alder's German, and Spiers and Surrenne's French dictionaries, have been commended to the readers of the Review, and we take great pleasure in saying that the work before us is executed in the same elegant style, and is characterized by an equal ability. Mr. Velazquez is well qualified for the task which he has assumed, and he has performed it in a very creditable manner. We regret that we have not room to specify some of the advantages which this Dictionary possesses over its predecessors. But we are compelled to content our-

selves with a general assurance that whoever has occasion to use such a work will find it all that is needed.

The History of English Literature with an outline of the origin and growth of the English Language. For the use of schools and private students. By WILLIAM SPALDING, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 12mo 413.

The design of the author of this manual is one which commends itself to the judgment of enlightened men. It is notorious that the English language and literature are sadly neglected in our schools. Boys are put upon the study of Latin and Greek while they have a very imperfect conception of the structure, laws, and idioms of their own tongue, and are set to reading the noble literature of those languages before they have acquired even a smattering of the rich and copious literature of our own. It is the object of Mr. Spalding's work to correct this evil. He has performed an important service with equal ability and care.

Second Latin Book; comprising a Historical Latin Reader with notes and rules for translating, and an exercise book developing a complete analytical syntax in a series of lessons and exercises. By ALBERT HARKNESS, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 12mo, pp. 362.

From a somewhat careful examination of this book, we are prepared to pronounce it one of the best elementary Latin Books before the public. The Latin comprising the reading lessons, presents many interesting and important facts, pertaining to Roman and Grecian history. These facts are first read, and then are so interwoven into the drill exercises as to form both a review of the material incidents in history, and a searching exercise in the construction and reconstruction of Latin.

But the peculiar merit of the work consists in the concise and explicit exhibition of the Latin sentence in all its forms. Beginning with the simplest sentence, the author presents first only the essential elements, and illustrates them by examples and exercises in all their varieties. Then the learner is made acquainted with the sentence in its enlargement, as one element after another is added, till he can construct, reconstruct or analyze any sentence. Thus the interest of the pupil is awakened and sustained. We predict for the work a welcome reception among classical teachers, and an extensive circulation in our classical schools. *

Outlines of Astronomy. By Sir J. T. W. Herschel, Bart. &c. A new edition. With numerous engravings. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea. 8vo, pp. 557.

It is only necessary for us to announce this new and beautiful edition of these celebrated "Outlines" in their improved form. They are everything that can be desired, both by the general and scientific reader.

Exposition of the Grammatical Structure of the English Language; being an attempt to furnish an improved method of teaching Grammar. For the use of Schools and Colleges. By JOHN MULLIGAN, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852.

This is a very elaborate and extended treatise on the English Language. It embodies the results of long observation and experience in the business of practical instruction. We commend the work to the notice of teachers and all who are interested in education. The learned notes and illustrative remarks scattered throughout the volume can not fail to interest all profound students in the science of Grammar.

Notes on Herodotus, original and selected from the best Commentators. Second edition. With numerous additions and corrections. By DAWSON W. TURNER, M. A. London: Henry G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1853. 12mo, pp. 474.

This volume is designed to illustrate the narrative as well as to elucidate the text of Herodotus. It is in fact a commentary on the work of the Historian. The author has furnished us with a compend of the labors of the principal commentators of Herodotus, having gathered the best substance of Baehr, Wesseling, Rennell, Schweighäuser, Blakesley, Gaisford, Larcher, and others, and arranged it in a very condensed and convenient form. Classical students will find this volume of great service to them in the study of Herodotus. After a careful examination of it we venture to express the belief that it contains all that the student can reasonably desire. The greatest fault, perhaps, which can be attributed to it, is, that it is too full.

Elements of Geology. By ALONZO GRAY and C. B. ADAMS. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 354.

The authors of this book are both of them familiar with their subject, and experienced in the business of teaching. Their work is, therefore, practical, and well adapted to its purpose. In some respects we think there might be improvement. For instance, we regret to find here an unequivocal adoption of the nebular theory of creation, which has been exploded by the discovery that these supposed nebulae are clusters of stars. The book is systematic in arrangement and generally lucid in statement. It will prove useful as a text book on one of the most important of the natural sciences. That portion of it which discusses the "Religion of Geology," is specially interesting, abounding as it does with weighty and just reflections.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED.

Interviews Memorable and Useful; from Memory and Diary Reproduced. By Samuel H. Cox, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo, pp. 325.

The Planter, or Thirteen Years in the South. By a Northern Man. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1853. pp. 275.

The Shady Side; or Life in a Country Parsonage. By a Pastor's Wife. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 16mo, pp. 349.

Marmaduke Wyvil, an Historical Romance of 1651. By Henry William Herbert. Redfield: New York. 1853. 12mo, pp. 458.

A Gospel Glass, representing the Miscarriages of Professors; or a Call

from Heaven to Sinners, and Saints, by repentance and reformation, to prepare to meet God. By Lewis Stuckley. New York: Robert Carter & Brother. 1853. 12mo, pp. 306.

Beatrice; or the unknown Relatives. By Catherine Sinclair. New York: De Witt & Davenport. 1853. 12mo, pp. 384.

Rachel Kell. By the Author of "My Mother," &c. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 12mo, pp. 312.

Matrimony, or Love Affairs of our Village Twenty Years ago. By Mrs. Caustic. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 12mo, pp. 316.

Count Struenzee, the Sceptic and the Christian. Translated from the French of the German. By Mrs. J. H. Wilson. Boston; J. P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 16mo, pp. 243.

Hand Book of Universal Geography; being a Gazetteer of the World. Edited by T. Carey Callicot, A. M. New York: George P. Putnam & Co. 1853. Small 8vo, pp. 856.

Voices from the Silent Land; or Leaves of Consolation for the Afflicted. By Mrs. H. Dwight Williams. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 12mo, pp. 274.

Lectures on Life and Health; or the Laws and Means of Physical Culture. By William A. Alcott, M. D. With Illustrations. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1853. 12mo, pp. 500.

Harry Muir; A Story of Scottish Life. By the Author of "Mrs. Margaret Maitland." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo, pp. 313.

The Heir of Redclyffe. By the Author of "The Two Guardians." 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. pp. 314, 312.

The Camel Hunt; a narrative of Personal Adventure. By J. W. Fabens. New York: George P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 12mo, pp. 219.

Memoir, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore. Edited by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M. P. Parts I and II. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853.

Memoir of Rev. W. A. B. Johnson. With an Introductory Notice by Stephen H. Tyng, D. D. New York: 1853. 12mo, pp. 285.

Thalatta; A Book for the Sea-Side. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1853. 16mo, pp. 206.

Startling Questions. By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1853. 16mo, pp. 370.

Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte, and Historic Certainties respecting the Early History of America. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1853. 16mo, pp. 183.

The last Leaf from Sunny-Side. By H. Trusta. With a Memorial of the Author. By Austin Phelps. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 16mo, pp. 342.

Father Bright hopes; or an Old Clergyman's Vacation. By Paul Creyton. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1853. 16mo, pp. 274.

Woodworth's American Miscellany of Entertaining Knowledge. By Francis C. Woodworth. Second Series. Boston; Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1853.

The Nature, Effects, and Pardon of Sin; to which is added a Warning and Exhortation to Sinners. By Rev. Jno. W. Harsha, M. A. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 16mo, pp. 241.

Memoir of Eliza C. Jones, Missionary to Burmah and Siam. New enlarged edition. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. New York: L. Colby & Co. 16mo, pp. 212.

The Believer's Pocket Companion; or Putting on Christ the one thing Needful. By William Mason. Tenth Edition. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. New York; L. Colby & Co. 16mo, pp. 136.

The Old and the New; or the Changes of Thirty Years in the East. With some allusions to Oriental Customs, as elucidating Scripture. By William Goodell. With an Introduction by Rev. William Adams, D. D. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 12mo, pp. 240.

The Translators Revived; a Biographical Memoir of the Authors of the English Version of the Holy Bible. By A. W. McClure. New York: C. Scribner. 1853. 12mo, pp. 250.

Journal of an African Cruiser, comprising Sketches of the Canaries, the Cape De Verds, Liberia, Madeira, &c. By Horatio Bridge, U. S. Navy. Edited by Nathaniel Hawthorne. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co: 1853. 12mo, pp. 179.

The Child's Matins and Vespers. By a Mother. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1853. 18mo, pp. 159.

A Child's History of England. By Charles Dickens. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 16mo.

History of Nero. By Jacob Abbott. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 16mo.

The Bourbon Prince. The History of the Royal Dauphin, Louis XVII. of France. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 16mo.

Ellen Lynn; a Franconia Story. By the Author of the Rollo Books. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 16mo.

Marco Paul's Adventures in Boston. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 16mo.

New York; a Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Metropolitan City of America. By a New Yorker. With Illustrations. New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1853. 16mo, pp. 339.

ART. IX.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.—JACOB VENEDEY has commenced the publication of his great work on the "History of the German people from the earliest times to the present." Three parts have already been issued at Berlin. It promises to be a work of great value.

Dr. CARUS' new work on the "Symbolism of the Human Form (*Symbolik des Menschlichen Gestalt*.) is criticised by the Physiologists as being inaccurate. It reminds one of Dr. Moore's work on "The Body and Mind," though it is less scientific. It is, nevertheless, brilliant and suggestive.

Dr. BECK of Reutlingen has written and published a valuable work enti-

tled "Plato's Philosophy in the plan of its Genetic Development." (Platon's Philosophie im Abriss ihrer genetischen Entwicklung.)

JACOB MOLESCHOTT, a Physiologist of some note, has written a reply to Liebig's Letters on Animal Chemistry, which is published under the title of "The Circle of Life." (Der Kreislauf des Lebens.) It is not received with much favor by the German Chemists.

Dr. JOHN USCHOLD has produced "A Compendium of Psychology, (Grundriss der Psychologie,) for the use of students. The work is thoroughly evangelical in its character.

Prof. ESCHENMAYER has published a disquisition entitled "Considerations on the Physical Universe," (Betrachtungen über den Physischen Weltall,) in which he contends that there is, in the center of the Universal System, a force or body which he denominates *Allgestirn*, which regulates and controls the great whole. The author is a follower of Schelling. His whole theory is exceedingly airy.

FREDERICK GERSTACKER has published two volumes of American Travels which contain much valuable information in reference to South America and California.

Dr. BROCKHAUS announces an abridgement of the celebrated "Conversations Lexicon," which is to be completed in four volumes.

Prof. GERVINUS, of Heidelberg, who was arrested for the publication of his Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century, has been released from durance, and is now actively employed in issuing a fourth edition of his "History of German Imaginative Literature." The first three volumes of the present edition are to be almost entirely new. The work is dedicated to the brothers Grimm and F. C. Dahlmann. This work affords the best view extant of the polite literature of Germany. It is in five volumes.

F. T. BRATRANCK has published a very readable book on the "Aesthetics of the Vegetable Kingdom, (Beiträge zu einer Aesthetik der Pflanzenwelt,) in which he illustrates the influence of the vegetable world on national traits, literature, religion, &c.

The first number of the "Real Encyclopedia for the Protestant Theology and Church," has been issued. Its design is to give the latest results of Biblical Science, to treat subjects connected with church Archæology, and to discuss questions pertaining to the various departments of Theology. It is under the immediate charge of Prof. Herzog of Halle, assisted by Twisten and Nitzsch of Berlin, Ullmann, Schenkel, and Hundeshagen, of Heidelberg, Lücke and Gieseler of Göttingen, and others. The Encyclopedia is to be completed in ten volumes octavo, of 200 pages each. The first number is all that the prospectus promised.

STIER and THEILE have issued three volumes of their great Polyglott Bible, comprising besides the original Text, the Septuagint, the Vulgate and Luther's Version. The editors have furnished notes which comprise an analecta of the critical labors of DeWette, Bengel, Griesbach, Hahn, Lockman, and others. It is one of the most complete works of the kind ever published and must be regarded as a valuable aid to the study of the Holy Scriptures.

The first number of the "Studien und Kritiken," for the present year, contains articles of great value from C. F. Jäger, Prof. Palmer, of Tübingen, and Prof. Bleek of Bonn. The design of Prof. Bleek is to show the relation of the Apocryphal parts of the Old Testament to the Christian Scriptures.

Prof. MULLER of Vienna, has published a History of the Popes of Rome, in nine volumes. It commences with Saint Peter, and gives us accounts of 259 of his successors. It is a work more celebrated for its bulk than its value.

Prof. DITTMAR has just completed his History of the World Ancient and Modern. It gives Christ his place in History, and is friendly to the Christian religion.

Bunsen's "Hippolytas and his Age" is being published at Leipsic. The first volume is already issued.

Among the most recent German works issued either for the first time or in new editions, are the following :

Philosophie und Christenthum. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Religions Philosophie. Von H. M. CHALIBAU.

Die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhundert. Von Prof. K. R. HAGENBACH. Leipzig.

Lutheri et Calvinii sententiæ de sacra cœna inter se comparatæ. Prof. Jul. MULLER. Halis.

Thomas v. Aquina in der judischen Literatur. von A. JELLINCK. Dorpat.

Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis cod. græcis et latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus ed. C. TRSCHENDORF. Leipzig.

Der Pentateuch, oder die fünf Bücher Moses, mit hebräischem Text deutscher Uebersetzung und erklärenden Noten v. Landesrabbiner Dr. Herxheimer. 2 Auflage. 1. Buch Genesis.

Die Religion der Helenen, aus den Mythen, den Lehrender Philosophen und dem Kultus entwickelt u. dargestellt. 1. Bd. Enthaltend: Von Gott und dem Verhältniss der Welt und der Menschen zu Gott. F. W. Rinck.

Geschichte des Pontificats Clemens XIV. nach unedirten Staatsschriften aus den geheimen Archiven des Vaticans. 2 Bde. Mit dem Bildniss Clemens XIV. Prof. Dr. A. Theiner.

Aristoteles' vier Bücher über die Thiele der Thiere. Griechisch und deutsch und mit sacherklärenden Anmerkungen herausgeg. von Dr. A. V. Frantzius. Leipzig.

Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguæ hebraeæ et chaldaeæ Veteris Testamenti. G. Gesenii. Tomi III fasc. posterior, quem post Gesenii decessum composuit Prof. Aem. Roediger. Editio II. secund radices digesta priore germ. longe auct. et emendat. Lipsiæ.

FRANCE.—M. F. CHAMPAGNY has published a work entitled "The Cesars." It comprises a series of studies on the Roman Emperors.

The last work of the lamented BOURNOUF, recently deceased, is entitled "The Lotus of the Good Law," being a translation from the Sanscrit, with a commentary and essays illustrating the system of Buddhism. It is one of the most important contributions recently made to Oriental Philology. M. Bournouf stood at the head of oriental scholars.

M. AUGUSTIN THIERRY has just published "An attempt at the History of the Formation and progress of the Third Estate." The critics speak of it in flattering terms.

M. HUET has made an attempt to reconcile Socialism and Christianity, in a book under the title of "The Social Reign of Christianity." It is ingenious and eloquent, and with much that is false, contains many sentiments worthy of being remembered.

M. HENRI BAUDRILLART has given us a valuable work on "Bodin and his Times."

M. BOZQUET's "History of the French Clergy," from the Gauls to the present time, has been completed. The fourth volume has just been issued.

We see an announcement of a History of the Medici by M. LAMARTINE.

UNITED STATES.—At an Educational Convention of the Baptists of New England, held in Boston on the 8th and 9th of March 1853, "The Backus Historical Society" was formed. Rev. Barnas Sears, D. D., was chosen President, and Rev. W. H. Shailer, Secretary.

Another Historical Society was organized at Philadelphia, in connection with the Publication Society, at the last anniversary of that body. It is called "The American Baptist Historical Society." The object of the Society is "to collect and preserve all manuscripts, documents and books, relating to Baptist History; the biographies of individuals, &c. &c., and to publish such Historical and Antiquarian works as the interests of the denomination may demand." The following are the officers for the present year:

Rev. William R. Williams, D. D., of New York, President. Rev. John M. Peck, D. D., Ill., Rev. Wm. Hague, D. D., N. J., Rev. Baron Stow, D. D., Mass., Rev. R. B. C. Howell, D. D., Va., Vice-Presidents. Horatio G. Jones, Jr., Esq., Penn., Secretary. Rev. Benjamin R. Loxley, Treasurer. Rev. Joseph Belcher, D. D., Rev. John Dowling, D. D., Rev. J. Lansing Burrows, Rev. Heman Lincoln, Wilson Jewell, M. D., John Hanna, Esq., Curators.

Correspondence of the Christian Review.

[The following letter from an esteemed correspondent was received in time for our last number, but was unfortunately crowded out. Though somewhat late, we think it possesses sufficient interest to justify its publication.]

ATHENS, Dec. 2, 1852.

If the pecuniary resources of the Archæological Society of Greece were commensurate with the extent and interest of the field which it aims to explore, or even with the zeal of some of its members, this ancient capital of art might richly reward the researches of the antiquary. But the fact is, that those resources are so scanty, as to allow of very little being attempted in the way of exploring the yet unoccupied portion of the ground on which the city of Minerva stood; and that unoccupied portion is growing every year less and less. Individual zeal sometimes supplies in a degree the lack of organized effort. An instance of this kind occurred a few months ago. A French archæologist obtained permission to make excavations at his own expense under the walls of the Acropolis, with the design of finding the ancient entrance, which has long since been concealed, and the precise situation of which is now matter of conjecture. His excavations brought to light an old door-way, which he at first believed to be the object of his search; but which further examination proved to belong to a much later age. Confident hopes are still entertained, that the true entrance will yet be discovered.

The night of the 26th of October, was remarkable for one of the most violent tornadoes ever known in these parts. The wind, which had been strong during the day, commenced blowing violently about seven in the evening, and continued to increase for about three hours, when it reached its greatest fury, and soon after subsided. The damage done during the two hours of its greatest violence, was immense. A large number of boats in the harbor of Piræus were either sunk or dashed to pieces, some of them carrying with them to the bottom all the little wealth of their unfortunate owners. Several larger ves-

sels were driven ashore, and lost—among them the frigate “Amelia,” which was returning from Nauplion full of passengers; men, women, and children. The passengers (among whom was a daughter of Marco Botzaris with her children,) were saved after much danger and many hardships; but the wreck is said not to be worth the expense of getting her off the rocks. Thus *one half* the navy of King Otho perished in a night. On the land, tiles were torn from the roofs; the leaden plates even, with which the dome of one of the churches is covered, were rolled up at the edges like a scroll; and large trees were uprooted or snapped in twain. A tall cypress, that towered as a sentinel above the Temple of the Winds, was broken off, as if it had been a dry twig, a few feet from the ground, and precipitated into the circular excavation that surrounds the temple, where it still lies, its torn trunk pointing upwards to the sky. But the most remarkable proof of the violence of the gale remains to be mentioned. One of the sixteen remaining columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympus, after having stood erect for more than seventeen centuries, was made to bite the dust on that terrible night. Many a breast was touched with a feeling of awe at the power of God, and of something like pity for a fallen hero, in gazing the next morning on those huge blocks of marble stretched along the ground which they but yesterday so proudly overlooked. As they now lie, they are separated just sufficiently to show the manner in which they were joined together. On the upper and lower surfaces of each drum, about six inches from the edge, two holes are drilled, on opposite sides, about two inches square, and three inches deep, into which iron bolts were inserted. The shaft of the column consists of sixteen drums, of unequal height. The largest is about four feet in height, and the smallest about half that measure. The Corinthian capital consists of two parts, and the base of one, making in all nineteen separate blocks. The upper portion of the capital was entirely overturned in its fall; so that the surface which before looked toward heaven, and crowned the whole pile, at the height of sixty feet, is now flat upon the ground. The remaining drums are inclined and leaning against each other, like a row of fallen bricks, their lower edges deeply imbedded in the ground. It is plain that there was a previous defect in the *foundation* of this column; for on the northern side, in which direction the column fell, it has sunk far into the ground, leaving the base, and the single drum of the shaft which still remains upon it, inclined at an angle of about thirty degrees, while the southern side of the foundation is unmoved. Part of the wall of the Temple of Eretheus, in the Acropolis, including two engaged columns, was also thrown down. It is said that the tornado was accompanied by one or two shocks of earthquake; but this does not seem to be quite ascertained. In the uproar of such a storm, it was not easy to determine whether the rocking which all sufficiently felt, proceeded only from the concussion of the upper air, or partly also from the quaking of the earth beneath.

A magnificent building has lately been erected in Athens, for the use of the Female Seminary under the direction of the Education Society. The building was commenced by subscription; but an adequate sum not being realized to carry on the work to its completion, application was made to a wealthy Greek merchant in Bucharest, by the name of Arsakes, who undertook, on certain conditions, to defray the entire expense of erecting the building, leaving the subscriptions already raised to constitute a fund for the benefit of the Society. A few weeks ago, this generous patron of female education formally presented the edifice to the Society. It has cost him about \$50,000; and an additional expense of five or six thousand dollars more is required for its entire completion. This is but one of many like generous deeds of liberal minded and public spirited Greek merchants, both within and without the kingdom of Greece. The country is just now mourning the untimely death of one, who would have won a distinguished place, had his life been spared, among the benefactors of Greece. Having amassed an ample fortune abroad, he had just come to settle in the country of his love, fired with a noble and patriotic enthusiasm. He had already projected various important works—such as the construction of a railroad between Athens and Piræus, the removing of obstructions from the channel between the island of Eubœa, or Negrepont, and the main land, and the introduction of improved methods of agriculture—

when he was suddenly cut off, in the full vigor of middle life, just on the eve of commencing his career of patriotic beneficence.

The new academical year of the University of Otho commenced a few weeks ago. From the Report of the Prytares for the past year we gather the following statistics. The number of students in the medical department was 278; in the law department 109; in philosophy 66; in pharmacy 33; and in theology 10: Total 496. Of this number 249 belonged to the kingdom of Greece, and 247 to the Grecian provinces of Turkey. The number of volumes added to the library during the year, by donations chiefly, was 4500—less than in many former years.

ART. X.—SELECT RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The *American Baptist Publication Society*, held its twenty-ninth Annual Meeting with the Spruce St. Church, Phila., May 4, 1853. The amount received by the Treasurer during the last year was more than \$43,000. The whole number of publications on the Society's catalogue is 406. Total No. of publications for the year, 432,700. The officers for the year ensuing are, *President*, Rev. J. H. Kennard; 28 *Vice Presidents*; *Cor. Secretary*, Rev. Herman Lincoln; *Editorial Secretary*, Rev. J. Newton Brown; *Depository, Agent and Assissant Treasurer*, Rev. B. R. Loxley; *Recording Secretary*, C. A. Wilson; *Treasurer*, W. W. Keen. *Managers*, Rev. J. Lansing Burrows, Rev. George I. Miles, Rev. J. A. McKean, Rev. Edgar M. Levy, Rev. Thomas R. Taylor, Rev. M. G. Clarke, Rev. S. Remington, Rev. B. Griffith, Rev. D. B. Cheney, Mr. Franklin Lee, Mr. Wilson Jewell, M. D., Mr. Wm. Bucknell, Jr., Mr. John C. Davis, Mr. Isaac Reed, Mr. Park H. Cassady, Mr. Thomas Rawlings, Mr. Eli S. Burnett, Mr. S. B. Van Dusen, Mr. W. V. Pettit, Mr. W. S. Hansell, Mr. C. F. Abbott.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY, held its annual meeting with the First Baptist Church in Troy, on Friday, May 13th, 1853. Total amount of cash in the Treasury during the year, \$51,471. The officers for the year ensuing are as follows:—*President*, Hon. Isaac Davis, LL. D., Worcester, Mass.; *Vice Presidents*, William Colgate, Esq., New York; John P. Crozer, Esq., Chester, Pa.; *Treasurer*, Charles J. Martin, Esq., New York; *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. B. M. Hill, D. D., New York; *Recording Secretary*, Rev. Thomas Armitage, New York.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY. The receipts of this institution from the churches for the year past exceed those of any previous year by about \$5000. The amount appropriated for the printing and circulation of the Bible in Foreign parts, was \$23,372. Total disbursements for the year, \$45,230. Officers for the year:—*President*, Rev. B. T. Welch, D. D.; *Vice Presidents*, Rev. A. Caswell, D. D., Rev. C. G. Sommers, Rev. E. Lathrop, Rev. D. Shepardson, Hon. J. M. Linnard and Rev. Baron Stow, D. D.; *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. Rufus Babcock, D. D.; *Recording Secretary*, Warren Carter, Esq.; *Treasurer*, Nathan C. Platt, Esq.; *Managers*, R. Babcock, P. Balen, J. M. Bruce, Jr., W. Carter, G. C. Germond, D. N. Graham, J. Hatt, C. W. Houghton, E. Lathrop, E. L. Magoon, R. Pegg, N. C. Platt, S. Raynor, J. E. Stewart, J. W. Taggart, B. T. Welch, J. H. Adams, W. Winterton. S. A. Corey, A. D. Gillette, J. J. Woolsey, W. S. Goodno, E. T. Hiscox, D. M. Wilson, H. Lamport.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION. The annual meeting of this body was held with the Pearl St. Baptist Church in Albany May 19. The receipts from all sources for the year ending March 31, were \$134,112.17, and the expenditures \$135,344.28. Of the receipts, \$10,500 were from the American and Foreign Bible Society, \$1,000 from the American Bible Union, \$3,500 from the American Tract Society, \$95.62, from the American Baptist Publication Society, and \$4,000 from the United States government. The expenditures exceeded those of the present year, by \$10,786.19.

The following are the officers elected the present year:—*President*, Hon.

George N. Briggs, LL. D., Mass.; *Vice Presidents*, Rev. B. T. Welch, D. D., N. Y.; Rev. E. Tucker, D. D., Ill.; *Recording Secretary*, Rev. W. H. Shailer, Mass.; *Managers—Ministers*, Henry V. Dexter, Maine; D. D. Pratt, N. H.; W. C. Brown, Mass.; Lemuel Porter, Mass.; Dwight Ives, Conn.; Francis Wayland, R. I.; William R. Williams, N. Y.; Justin A. Smith, N. Y.; William Clark, N. Y.; George Kempton, N. J.; Joseph A. Kennard, Pa.; D. Shepardson, Ohio; Ezra Ferris, In.; Supply Chase, Mich.; Perley Work, Wis.; E. Gunn, Iowa. *Laymen*, Jefferson Borden, Mass.; Joseph B. Gilbert, Conn.; Ira Harris, N. Y.; Harvey Edwards, N. Y.; Daniel M. Wilson, N. J.; Washington Jones, Del.; Thomas Wattson, Pa.; A. H. Dunlevy, Ohio; George Haskall, Ill.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE UNION held its third Annual Meeting in the Meeting House of the First Baptist Church, New York, on the 7th and 8th of October 1852. The receipts for the year were \$16,527. The Union had also on the 6th of October last, unpaid subscriptions to the amount of \$62,000. The officers are as follows:

Spencer H. Cone, D. D., *President*; A. Maclay, D. D., and twenty-four others, *Vice Presidents*; William H. Wyckoff, *Cor Secretary*; E. S. Whitney, *Rec. Secretary*; William Colgate, *Treasurer*; Sylvester Pier, *Auditor*; G. W. Abbe, Thos. B. Brown, Thos. Armitage, and twenty-one others, *Managers*.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DEATHS.

Thomas Purington, May 26.

N. W. Williams, Boston,

ORDINATIONS.

Peter Irving, Wolcott, Wayne Co. N. Y., Feb. 17.	C. H. Pierson, Stafford, Conn., June 1.
Nathan Wright, Sloansville, N. Y., Feb. 24th.	Perry Bennet, Lebanon, Conn., June 2.
William Lake, Fredericksburg, M'ch 30.	Andreas Wiberg, Bap. Mariners' Ch. N. Y., March 24.
John Roberts, Drummondville, C. W., March 1.	Parmenas Watts, Tivoli, N. Y., June 2.
John Kitchell, Allen, N. Y., March 2.	Ira D. Burwell, Moriah, N. Y., June 8.
C. L. Frost, Perkinsville, Vt. April 18.	
James W. Grant, Schuylerville, N. Y.	
Amos B. Still, Vincent, Pa.	

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

McEwensville, Pa., Feb. 19.

Painted Post, N. Y., March 18.

DEDICATIONS.

West Cambridge, March 31.

Red Bank, N. J., April 7th.